



In Coelum jussus ibit .

And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes .



In Coelum jussus ibit .

And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes .

Gal 11 W.C.
BARATARIANA. K

A
SELECT COLLECTION
OF FUGITIVE
POLITICAL PIECES,

Published during the
ADMINISTRATION
OF
LORD TOWNSHEND
IN IRELAND.

Præfenti tibi maturos largimur honores.

Her.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND
ENLARGED.

D U B L I N :

M,DCC,LXXIII.

(Price 3s. 3d. sewed.)

BARBARA

NOTICE

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

THE following papers should be dedicated to you, for you are the subject of them. Had they been barren of literary merit, they had not been much attended to; had they possessed literary merit alone, they had not been attended to, long. No, my Lord, they had something more; they had truth;
a and

and appealed to a nation, who in these essays recognized its own idea, reflected with additional lustre. They spoke with a warmth, expressive of great feelings, greatly agitated, upon great occasion.—If they descended to your *train*, it was, because your train were your ministers. If they glanced at your private life, it was because the levity of your private life entered into your public conduct, and became the character of your government.—They spoke with moderation in the fervour of the times; and now, that the war, which your administration waged with the publick, is at an end, and every thing respecting your person buried in compassion, and contempt,—these papers, upon constitutional principles, make a sober appeal to the judgment of the people; and are presented, not as satire, but history.

THE

DEDICATION.

v

THE liberty of the press (it were vain to deny it) has advanced to great maturity, under the present reign. Its progress is easily accounted for.—During the life of the late Monarch, the press spoke the language of *insinuation*. His Majesty, a plain, honest gentleman, of the house of Hanover, was not likely to deserve, or to punish, or indeed to understand, libels. There was no *mysterious attachment* in *his* family, an allusion to which could never be forgiven. *His* court was not *always* without some claim to principle, and did not advance extravagant pretensions to devotion—pretensions, suspicious to the simplicity of the English, not yet accustomed to the novelty of a puritanical piety, selecting, for its support, men of the most dissolute morals.

vi DEDICATION.

WHEN his present Majesty ascended the throne, the first acts of his reign generated libellers. His measures gave matter, and persecution gave boldness, to composition — The hand of power touched the press, and, like the porcupine, it started into a thousand shafts. — A person, not in himself perhaps the most respectable, attacked the *Favourite* with vigour; to depress that person, the Court violated the Constitution, and he rose proportionally in the estimation of the people. — The persecution of Government hurt the temper, and its prostitution impaired the delicacy, of the press. The usurpations of prerogative were *expedients* at first, and became *principle* afterwards; in the same manner, corruption, the occasional practice of foregoing reigns, became the established

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blished maxim of the present. The Press varied with the vices it was to correct; and unable to reform, endeavoured to brand and terrify, a shameless administration.

THE venality of parliament aided this progress.—When the House of Commons was honest, it spoke for the people, and the people, relying on that resource, were silent. But when Parliament became the echo of Administration, the constitutional utterance of popular sentiments being impeded, the people were obliged to speak for themselves; and their feelings burst forth, as it were, in explosion. And indeed, since Impeachment has died out of the constitution, since national justice is only administered by the censorial power of the publick, the exercise of this power is become

a 3 essential;

viii DEDICATION.

essential ; and uncommon censure is the necessary consequence of uncommon profligacy.

IN this kingdom, my Lord, from the time of your arrival in it, you were contented to degrade yourself below the condition, I will not say of a Viceroy, but of a gentleman, and to become the miserable instrument of English tyranny. Through you, the little minister of the day, whoever he happened to be, *played* upon our Constitution ; and unfortunately, the engine that he used, was directed, not to allay, but to inflame. Measures, differing indeed from those pursued in Great Britain, because adapted to another meridian, but equally oppressive, practised against a country already sufficiently oppressed—a determined perseverance in doctrines, as arbitrary and unconstitutional

as

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as any of the *Mansfield-code*, touching the vitals of the state, and tending to deprive the Representatives of the people of their most essential, and incommunicable rights—the same undue influence, exerted on a *complying* House of Commons—and the same declared hostility against every man who did but assume the name of a friend to his country—these causes, I say, my Lord, all concurred to produce the same effects here, that a similar system had before produced in England; they excited, in every honest breast, the same freedom of thinking and writing, the same spirit of candid representation, and vigorous remonstrance, on the part of the people.

HERE, too, the productions of the press were incited by a circumstance which did not exist in England;—the

x DEDICATION.

unexampled intemperance of publications on the part of the Court. A paper, supported, my Lord, by your authority, perhaps occasionally supplied by your labours, went beyond the reserve of ordinary libellers, and reproached the delicacy of the North Briton.—*Mr. Wagstaffe's Essays*, distinguished for carrying *personal invective* into unusual excess, are still more remarkable for directing that invective against *principle* itself. It was not the false pretender to patriotism, it was the name of patriot, and the virtues of patriotism, which were insulted.—Finding it vain to wage war against truth and conviction, against the wishes and the sense of the nation, finding integrity in its own form invulnerable, and sophistry ineffectual, what was to be done? The domestick arrangements, and the social affections of your opponents

D E D I C A T I O N. xi

ments were viewed in the inverted glass of Distortion, and imputed to them as crimes. In vain did the modesty of private life imagine itself secure. It's œconomy was burlesqued, it's splendour was derided ; it's taste, it's friendships, it's most amiable charities, it's finest feelings, whatever had dignity enough to be susceptible of violation,—all were outraged, ridiculed, and distorted. It seemed as if every species of virtue was to be destroyed, before your Lordship could be defended—The *style*, too, of those essays, distinguishes them ; it is too light for conviction. The cause of truth is seldom supported by farcical compositions, and by that more than Gallick gayety, with which the courtier sings *Te Deum* on the defeats of the constitution.

WHEN Shaftsbury wished to attack truth, and religion, he made ridicule the test of both. But a Hooker and a Locke defended them by other arms—The writers of ‘*The Mercury*’ speak to the nation on it’s most essential interests, in the frolicksome petulance with which one slave might salute his fellow.—Without any of the genius, they have all the vice, of their great exemplar.

THE following papers will reach you, my Lord, in another country.—They will contribute to amuse those leisure-moments, when you reflect on transactions that must once have agitated your bosom. They will recall those motley times, of embarrassed indolence—of broken councils—of fordid society—when business waited, while Dennis
jested,

DEDICATION. xiii

jested, and Cunningham advised: You will look back to the sea, on which you once were tossed, and feel a joy to be on shore, though naked, *and without a friend.* In those moments of reflection and of *safety*, you will recollect, that you have introduced into this country a long train of mischiefs;—that you have left a name, as little to be forgotten, as it can be beloved;—that the men, who opposed you, were not your enemies, nor the men, who supported you, your friends;—that your largesses were rejected by the spirit of indignant poverty*; that your favours, when they were received, were written in the sandy memory of disgusted hirelings, but your injuries engraven on the marble of the Constitution. — Softened and stung by

* See the Appendix No. V.

these

these considerations, you will lament the time, when you were called *from the ranks to which you belong*, — and from the ludicrous singularity of your genius, transplanted to a station, where honours did not grow around you, and where, of all whom you have served, and of all whom you have injured, your adversaries are those alone of whom you cannot complain.

PRE-

P R E F A C E.

IN the following work, our purpose has been, to collect all the pieces of merit, which were written on the part of the people, during the late ruinous administration of Lord Townshend; and to rescue them from the perishable form, in which they were originally published. — They are not, like the letters of Junius, all the productions of the same hand. In so large, and miscellaneous a collection, some *inequality* will necessarily be found; but we have been studious not to admit any piece without a *considerable* share of

of merit, lest, by a baser mixture, we should have diminished the value of those compositions, which the publick favour has already declared sterling, and considered as the best political papers that have yet appeared in this country.

THE Editor is induced to offer them to the publick, not as member of any party, but as an admirer of fine writing, which they exhibit; and as a lover of liberty, which they assert.—— They are arranged in the order in which they were published; and though the six letters *from an inhabitant in Baratania to his friend in Pensylvania*, which stand foremost in this collection, bear certain marks of capacity, and good sense, yet the subsequent publications clearly shew, that a succession of injuries will sharpen the talents, enlarge the genius, and improve the productions, of a free, and spirited people — The Letters of *Sindercombe, Fabricius, Hortensius, Posthumus, Pericles, and Pascal*, with the favourite *History of Baratania*, — will always be objects of admiration, in Irish politicks.

THIS

IT has been the custom of all nations to raise publick monuments in commemoration of publick characters. This kingdom and America have already immortalized the name of Pitt, and erected statues of their great Champion, and Protector. They thought, that they could not be too lavish in bestowing honours on him, whom they esteemed the greatest statesman, and the most virtuous senator, that these latter ages have produced ;---a man of singular abilities, and inflexible integrity ;---endued with the most various, and splendid talents ;---of a daring, sagacious, and comprehensive mind ;---who in the most arduous undertakings could foresee, and surmount, every difficulty ;---quick to conceive, and prompt to execute, the boldest designs, and the most glorious enterprizes ;---in himself, at once a cabinet, and an army---the counsel, and the sword, of a nation*.

* In p. 263 the reader will find the character of this great statesman more fully delineated by the pen of a celebrated historian.

AMIDST

AMIDST these various, but not exaggerated praises, candour obliges us to acknowledge, that one heavy charge has been alleged against him ; --- that, with all his sagacity, he could not discern, in *General Townshend*, any of those great and good qualities, which, for these five years past, we have been assured from the best authority, --- *himself, or his military amanuensis*---were so eminently conspicuous in the *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*—and that the blindness of Mr. Pitt, in this respect, was still farther aggravated by his placing a young Irishman, in command, over him, at Quebec. The guilt of this imputation, indeed, this great minister shares, in common with about five million of people ; for the inhabitants of this kingdom and America, have not been more discerning than he ; from whatever cause it has arisen, they have not yet been able to *find out the merits* of Lord Townshend ; nor have they, if we are rightly informed, yet dedicated a temple, or allotted a single niche in any of their publick edifices, to the redoubted

doubted *Vice-conqueror of Quebec*, and *Governour of Ireland*.

THE people, on the day of his abdicating the government, did indeed elevate his effigy ; ---but it was on a *gibbet* ;---and in a few hours afterwards, that no memorial might remain to remind them of him who had awakened all their sensibility, they hurled it down, and committed it to the flames.---Until therefore he shall meet with *due* honours, and with *that elevation* which he has merited, we hope he will be contented with this *small trophy*, which we have, somewhat officiously indeed, raised to his fame.

THE first edition of this work having been sold in a few days, we have endeavoured to render this new edition more worthy of the publick regard, by correcting the errors of the former impression, and inserting some letters which were before inadvertently omitted. The Dedication, and the character of Sancho, are now first published—We have likewise given
a print

a print of the Privy Council of Barataria, of which the design and the execution will, it is hoped, be found equally happy. At the end, it has been thought proper to add, in an Appendix, the most material protests of the House of Lords during the administration of Lord Townshend, which, it is imagined, may throw a light on some passages in these letters. And lastly, for the sake of those who may happen to live at a distance from the Capital, we have given a complete key to the History of Barataria.

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† DEDICATION.

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3. Protest on the Lords giving a negative to the proposition "*that the protest of Lord Townshend of the 26th of December, 1769, should be erased from their Journals.*"

4. Protest on the institution of a new board of Accounts.

5. Resolutions of the Corporation of Weavers, &c. relative to a bounty of 200*l.* offered them by Lord Townshend.

6. Key to the History of Barataria.



FUGITIVE
POLITICAL PIECES, &c.

LETTER I.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS
FRIEND IN PENNSYLVANIA.

*Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi
Adspicerem, illosque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat
Religio; Causæ viam non sponte sequabar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere semina motu
Affirmat, magnumque novas per inane figuras
Fortuna, non arte regi; quæ numina sensu
Ambiguo, vel nulla putat, vel nescia nostri.*

*Abstulit hunc tandem Rufini pæna tumultum,
Absolvitque Deos. Jan non ad culmina rerum
Injustos crevisse queror: tolluntur in altum,
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.*

CLAUDIAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Jan. 16, 1768.

I RECEIVED your anxious letter by the last packet, and the subject of it has given me occasion of some serious and melancholy
B reflection.

reflection. We have both of us read far enough in history, to be sufficiently alarmed at the measures you have so accurately pointed out; philosophy tells us that like causes must ever produce similar effects; and the same arts, which may be capable of destroying our liberties, must certainly operate more strongly against yours; as our rulers will gain an additional strength by our defeat. For it is the property of slaves to communicate slavery, as it is of vice or distemper to spread contagion. The wretched are apt to flatter themselves, that they lessen their own portion of misery by sharing it among numbers, and prisoners are always welcome to a gaol, or the galleys.

You are, happily, at too great a distance from ministerial tyranny, to fall an immediate sacrifice to the politics of despotism; therefore the essay has been commenced nearer home. We have been treated, of late, not as the children, but the bastards of our mother country; and all our expectations of an equal distribution of inheritance are considered, not as claims of right, but as pretences of contumacy, and presumption. Your circumstances and ours then, being exactly the same, the difference of our situations can possibly gain you but the poor respite of Ulysses's petition to Polyphemus, of being devoured the last.

BARATARIANA.

3

THERE is one particular, in the case of our island, that appears to be most singular and extraordinary. Rome, Athens, Carthage, and all the recorded states of the world, have risen by degrees to fame, to grandeur, to opulence, to some respect in the political scale of nations, before their declension; "*Obruti pondere suo*," and then they have been over-run by aliens and barbarians. While the poor and insignificant Baratarians have never yet been suffered to rise into any manner of notice, either in politics or trade, and are now likely, after a superannuated infancy, to be overlaid in the cradle, by parents, fosterers, and brethren. This will furnish a new phenomenon in history, and peculiar to our country.

AND yet, were we to judge merely from men, and not by measures, one might not be apt to suspect, or dread any great or dangerous event being brought about by the chief actors in our political theatre, the principal performers of which I shall give you a sketch of, in the manner of the old drama, by adding characters to names.

B 2

DRAMATIS.

THERE

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

SANCHO, our Chief Governor.

A PLUMP man, with a merry, round, unstudious-looking countenance; a jovial companion, of great festive mirth, preferring even the latter end of a feast, to any part of a fray. A person who cannot arrive at the heroic virtues, should always affect the social ones. It is said, indeed, that he is apt to quarrel in his liquor, but that is easily corrected. One perfectly regardless of pomp, dignity, or parade, going about scattering his proverbs to common passengers, as he walks the streets. It has been whispered, indeed, that he is a person of great *design*, but then I have been told that his execution is rather with the pencil, than the pen.

WHAT merry duke or dutchess made him a governor in a frolic, I cannot say, for I hear that it was not at first seriously intended. If Charles the second, of facetious memory, was now monarch of these realms, it might perhaps be accounted for more ways than one; as Sancho's attachment to the Stuart line is sufficiently known; but his present majesty, God bless him, I hear, is no joker.

He

HE was forced abroad once as squire to a certain Don Quixote in arms, who led him often into so much trouble and peril, in quest of fame, conquest, honour, and such other romantic notions, that it is generally believed, had that same knight errant but lived to the end of his last glorious campaign, the squire would have begged his discharge, and have quitted the service. And this appears to be pretty plain from his conduct immediately after the knight's death ; for his experience in chivalry had given our poor Sancho so cordial an affection for peace, that he heartily concurred and assisted in every measure requisite to bring one about, thinking it not too dearly purchased at the expence of fame, conquest, honour, and such other romantic notions.

HE was sent over to us, without any powers to do us good ; and such a person, one should imagine, might not have it in his power to do us much mischief. But we must wait the further unfolding of schemes and measures now commencing ; for talents sometimes grow with office, as was manifest in the elder Sancho.

Caledon, principal secretary to Sancho.

A NORTH Briton, and a clandestine negociator in politics ; without fortune, interest, or connection, in Barataria ; a person of no distinction, but

6 B A R A T A R I A N A.

what he poorly borrows from his family, his office, or the patronage of the Northern Thane, whose clients and emissaries both he and Sancho are notoriously known to be.

COLONEL *Promise*, lieutenant governor and captain of the band of pensioners in Barataria.

THIS person's real name has been swallowed up in that appellation, time out of mind. For his easy temper and great good-nature lead him into more promises than he is able to fulfil, and he is often censured for breach of faith by those, who are apt to mistake the unguarded flowings of his good will for the studied art of a courtier.

WHOEVER suspects him of such deliberate insincerity, wrongs him two ways. He is doubly unqualified for a *Machiavel*. His heart I think is good, but both his contrivance and execution bad — very bad. I am persuaded, therefore, that, whenever the colonel acts wrong, he may be considered rather as the tool of another's art, than the dupe of his own intrigue. His aim is popularity, and when this is pursued as an end, not a means, it is surely the noblest ambition, (*Suavis victoria amor populi*;) as it can be gained but by virtue, and maintained only by principle.

He

He is at present considered as a probationer by his country; as he has lately concurred in proposing some beneficial laws to our supreme rulers, as a bill for limiting the duration of our senates, &c. which *looks* well; and has also been a founder of a society in this metropolis stiled the Constitution Club, which *sounds* well.

Serjeant *Rufinus*.

THIS Autochton, or son of the earth, according to a Greek phrase for a new man whose *unde derivatur* is unknown, is stiled the Monopolist, from having appropriated to himself and his family the possession of some, and the reversion of others, the most honourable and lucrative employments in this island of Baratania.

He rose suddenly by opposing, indiscriminately every measure of ministry in our senate; which occasioned one of our supine governors so much trouble, that he thought his private peace worth purchasing—at the expence of the public. A member of the great council of our mother country had struck his fortune at a heat, some time before, by one harangue, and was thence stiled Single-Speech-Hamilton. Our *Terræ filius* had not indeed such quick success, but as he happened to compass his ends in the space of one session on-

ly, he has ever since been cognomened Single-Session-Rufin.

WHEN the people had thus lost a factious tribune, it was thought the ministry had gained an able consul; but his natural forwardness precipitates him often into measures before they have been well formed or digested in the cabinet; which affords the few friends of Barataria an opportunity of standing sometimes on their guard, and preparing for our defence. So that by too much officiousness to make amends for having put a drag upon the wheels of government once in his life, he has been over oiling them ever since, until they begin to clog again.

WHEN Plebeians happen to become Patricians, neither the people nor the state are ever well supported by them. They are apt to estrange themselves too much from the class they have sprung from; and that liberality of soul, that generosity of sentiment, that noble ardor of principle, which dignifies and distinguishes the higher ranks of mankind, are rarely to be met with in primæval meanness. A person under such a description is what the ingenious doctor South stiled a scum in politics, at once the basest, and the uppermost part. My grand-father, for I had one, used to give me this advice in my youth.—“In every walk of life, beware of the dunghil.”

I HAVE only given you here a few of the characters in our theatrical piece, and those only slightly touched; being in haste to enter upon the general action of the political drama. The other persons of this representation I shall occasionally describe, as they may hereafter unfold themselves, during the continuance of the performance. But, as these are principal conductors, or, to carry on the allusion, the chief Managers of our scenes, I thought that a true idea of them might sufficiently evince the proposition I advanced just before I entered upon the *dramatis personæ*, namely, that the men, and the parts cast for them, appear to be not in the least proportionate to one another.

NOR assuredly could they ever prove to be so, if there were the same unanimity for the public good, as is too frequently instanced in combinations for a public injury. Virtue is seldom so active as vice: immediate objects impress themselves more strongly upon our senses than distant ones: Free-Booters receive a present emolument from the plunder of a nation, and the defenders of it perceive only a remote advantage in the public welfare.

BESIDES, who are the true friends to the constitution of our island? Alas! few in number, and fewer still in powers and activity for its service. An useful patriot should be endowed with sense

and spirit both ; for zeal without knowledge may do us more harm than good, and the reverse of the character can do us no good at all.

THERE are, I confess, some shining lights among us, but no conducting star.—The champions of Barataria have not yet entered into union, or association together.—When fame is the object, rivalry too frequently arises ; and when many men would be leaders, the followers will be divided into too many parties to do service.

IT is full time, now, that an unity should prevail, and a preference be admitted ; and then an intire confidence and concurrence, as requisite in the council, as the field, ought to be acquiesced in ; for those, who are least capable of thinking, are most apt to think for themselves ; and there are, to use Bacon's words, “ who know not manacles from bracelets, nor burthens from robes.”

WITHOUT such a dependence and unanimity as this, one man may exert himself on a question of but small importance to day, and neglect perhaps another of the utmost consequence to-morrow.

BUT should such a concord as this, so devoutly to be wished for, as it is most critically necessary at this time, be once established among the friends of liberty in this island, the murmurs of a people

people under such a conduct, would make the oppressors tremble under the shelter of a throne ; and a nation can never be enslaved, without its own consent : for death or freedom will ever be the generous alternative of the brave. I call not for the sword, but for the shield.

By the next packet, that descends to your world, I shall furnish you with a particular detail of the chains that appear to be forging for your country, and which are first to be fitted on the Baratarians. In the mean time, farewell, and believe me to be,

Dear Antipode,

your sincere, and

affectionate friend,

and kinsman,

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER

LETTER II.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Surgit ad hos clypei dominus septemplicis Ajax.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Jan. 19, 1768.

I SIT down now, to perform the promise I made you in my last letter of giving you an account of the arbitrary measures which have for some years past, been pursued against this devoted land, by the emissaries sent over here by the rulers of our parent country, with the connivance or concurrence of some of our own parricides associated with them.

BUT as my too credulous countrymen are too much lulled at present by the fond, but vain persuasion, of obtaining soon a law that may obviate, or prevent some, or most of the evils we have already had sufficient experience to apprehend, I think it will be proper, first to give you my opinion of the improbability of such an expectation, before I proceed to point out those grievances which it is meant to remedy, or oppose.

THE law I allude to, is one that I just hinted at in my last letter, for limiting, as it is styled, the duration of our senate to the term of seven years ;
commonly

commonly called the Septennial Bill. This favourite idea was first conceived at the expiration of the last senate, which terminated on the demise of his late majesty. It took its rise among the constituents of many counties and boroughs in this island, who having long groaned under the weight and oppression of two Life-Senates, (their very constituency being frequently assumed by the representatives themselves, *miraturque novas frondes, & non sua poma,*) laid hold of this opportunity, of recommending to their new representatives some relief of this kind.

A BILL to this purpose was accordingly preferred to our senate, the first session, by the famous Pedro Pezzio, one of our most eminent patriots and physicians, which received the approbation and co-operation of our governor at that time, and was transmitted to the great rulers of our mother-country in due form.—But never returned to us again.

THIS disappointment, however, did not discourage the generous sentiments of our active patriots; for the next session they attempted the same measure, a second time, which also passed through all the requisite forms on our-part, was likewise countenanced by our succeeding governor, transmitted as before, and met with the same fate, already related.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING this our second defeat, the spirited Tribunes of the people abated nothing of their former ardour ; endeavouring still to obtain a law so beneficial to the public, even at their own manifest hazard and disadvantage ; preferring the general good of the nation to their own interest and emolument. These persons resolutely pursued the same plan in the next session, and with more probable appearance of success too, than they had had upon the two former experiments ; as our then governor † was possessed of large fortune, interest and connection here, and gave us every assurance in his power of assisting the bill ; his eldest son was principal secretary at that time, and voted for it ; and his brother was then one of the first secretaries, in our mother country. Yet, notwithstanding all these flattering auspices, our hopes failed us again, a third time.

AFTER such reiterated discomfitures, less indefatigable patriots would have despaired of being ever able to have compassed their point ; but the resolution, the perseverance of these guardians of our liberties was not to be conquered, and they have again, for the fourth time, attempted this favourite question. It was voted, and sent over this winter, along with the usual bill of supplies ; it was the same that has been preferred so often before, and the proposition so short and simple, that the ministry on the other side, could
not

† Lord Hertford.

not require a moment's leisure to consider the nature of it : yet, the other Bill has long since returned alone, nor have we ever received any manner of answer about it, but what is evasive or ambiguous.

AFTER having been thrice defeated in the same unvaried attempt, and notwithstanding the encouragement and assurances of support from three successive governors, what hope can our most sanguine wishes frame upon the present crisis ? When neither the warm Sancho, nor the cold Caledon, have ever yet afforded us the least favourable hint with regard to it, the latter even retiring from the senate house when the question came to be proposed upon this subject.

WHAT judgment then are we to frame in such a case ? Does our mother country, like a partial step-dame, regard us as aliens to her family, and think it too much presumption in us to challenge the same portion of freedom that her other children enjoy at present, under a law of the like nature among themselves ?

OR are we to conclude, as the more probable suggestion, that some of the leading persons among ourselves contrive constantly, through their influence on the other side of the water, to use means to counteract a measure, that might interfere with
their

their own private interests here, and which nothing but their being awed into it by the loudness of the public voice, has hitherto induced them to join in an insincere, and disingenuous concurrence with, before the world? And what an insidious manner of dealing is this, between the prince and people? To arrogate to themselves all the popularity of the request, and cast upon his majesty and his ministers, all the obloquy and odium of the refusal.

AND what has afforded some face of plausibility to this latter surmise is, that when the bill was signed in the council, by way of recommending it; as is the usual method of transmitting all bills, colonel Promise, who, as it is whispered, happened to be led thither by mere chance, was the only person of that house, in which this bill had taken its rise, that subscribed his name to it.

SUCH a lukewarm zeal as this, I must confess, has but a very unpromising appearance; as it is notoriously known, that in every measure wherein that person interests himself, for his own emolument, or advantage, it is always sufficiently attended, to insure success. And could he not have prevailed upon any one of his numerous Band of pensioners to take a pen in hand, upon such an occasion as this?

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, I only repeat the notions of other people in this matter ; for, as I have in my former letter considered the colonel as a probationer for the favourable opinion of the public, I shall suspend any manner of censure, myself, on his character, until we shall have advanced some-what farther toward the Denouement of our political drama.

BUT it was plain from the opening of this very session, that our expectation in this particular was not meant to be complied with. An expression indeed that had fallen from the facetious Sancho, soon after he had entered upon his office, had given us some glimmering of hope about it, for a time, " That he had something to propose to our senate, which he believed would be perfectly grateful to the people of Barataria." The betts ran high upon this hint.—It must be some one or other of the points we had before declared an earnest desire for. The Septennial, or the Militia bill, at least. But, alas ! it happened to be neither of these. We might, truly, alter the tenure of our judges places, from *durante bene placito*, to *Quam diu bene se gesserint*.

THIS was, really, a matter of very little consequence to us, since the revolution. The influence of the crown over the courts of law, can never be now so strong, as the right of impeachment by the senate. Since the ministry were so graciously

ously pleased to confer a favour on us, why was it not accorded to us in our own way? They had been sufficiently apprised, that we should renew the same applications as before; and as they did not think proper to offer us either of those requests, it appears I think too plainly, that they did not mean to grant us either of them. If they had, they would certainly not have declined the merit of being the first movers.

THIS same judges-bill, then, was thrown out to us meerly for amusement, as a sop to qualify our disappointment with regard to other matters of more real service to the freedom, safety and welfare of our country. Perhaps too it may be meant farther to hint to us, that we are not to expect a concurrence with any material measure of our own adoption, that shall not first have received the sanction of a *previous consent*, by proposition from the ministry, in the governor's instructions that may be deputed to rule over, or to over-rule us, here.

THERE never was, perhaps, framed in our senates a bill so intirely relative to ourselves, or which so little interfered with the interests, or concerns of our great neighbour. However, some of those, who dared not oppose it before the the public, have taken pains to undermine it in private, by urging two objections, with a view of abating our solicitude about it; as the first of these arguments, if just, must shew us the improbability of our success,

cess, and the other, if solid, the impropriety of our request.

It has been said, in the first place, that a bill for limiting the duration of senates, is an abridgement of the king's prerogative. To which I shall return only this short answer, viz. that it is an enlargement of it. In our parent country there was a law made, in Edward the third's reign, that a senate should be convened every year; which remained still the law, though sometimes arbitrarily infringed, especially in the despotic reigns of the Tudor and the Stuart lines; who either disused, or continued them, from year to year, by prorogation; a method first introduced by Henry VII. This law was afterwards adopted by us, in the reign of Henry VIII; And was never repealed. In the reign of William III. the prerogative was enlarged, by enacting a triennial senate in our neighbour country only; and in the reign of George the first, the prerogative was further extended, by a power of continuing a senate for seven years: we remaining, all this while, as before, under the guardianship of a law for annual senates only.

Thus the highest stretch of ministerial influence, corroborated by an actual invasion and rebellion in the kingdom at that time, could extend no farther than to the confidence of only a seven years trust; so watchful and jealous are our great neighbours of
so

so invaluable a stake as liberty. The same concurrence of circumstances at the same time induced us to submit to a continuance of the same senate here, year after year, during the reign of George the first; and to another again, during the reign of George the second; and these were the only Life-Senates that ever were held in Barataria.

THE pretender was then an alarming object; our lives, our liberties, our property, and religion, were all then at stake. We were then in possession of a Whig-senate, and thought it might have been dangerous to have parted with it. We were sufficiently aware of the infringement upon our constitution, but thought it "better to bear those ills we knew, than hazard others which we knew not of."

THESE panics subsisted still among us, till near the latter end of the last reign. We then, nay long before, became sensible of the grievance and disadvantages of perennial senates; and the former reasons having now perfectly subsided, the distinctions of Whig Tory or Jacobite being intirely forgotten, and the chevalier no more thought of than Prestor John, we had reason surely to expect a restoration of our legal rights, never yet repealed or resigned, but only suspended *pro tempore* with our own concurrence, as expedient to the safety equally of prince and people.

THIS

THIS temporary waiving of our right, can surely no more imply a surrender of it, than our submitting to a suspension of any other act in critical conjunctures, can be construed into a consent for its repeal. We have, therefore, an undefeated claim to annual senates even at this time; for mere disuse, or the past arbitrary extension of them, can never establish a prerogative against a still subsisting law.

I THINK, therefore, that our modest application for a septennial senate, and desiring the benefit of it once only in every two years, is a remarkable extension, instead of an abridgement, of the prerogative royal. And as the bill is not framed so as to say that our senate shall subsist so long, but only that it shall not subsist longer, the only part of the prerogative, that could be effected by this bill, the right of dissolving at will, remains still untouched.

THE other objection, either ignorantly, or disingenuously urged against this bill, is the idleness, dissipation, and corruption, that it must generally occasion, every seven years, throughout the island; which may occasion more damage, from the libertinism of the people, than can possibly be countervailed, in the liberty of the subject. The experience of which, they urge, has been sufficiently proved already, in the manners of the
lower

lower classes of Constituents in a neighbouring nation, since a law of the same kind was obtained among them.

I WILL admit the fact alledged, in the instance quoted; and this the more readily, as it makes directly against the very induction that it is sophistically meant to support. In that country triennial senates were extended to septennial ones: The value of a seat there, has been augmented to above double the rate of the former limitation. I am sorry to be reduced to make use of mercantile terms upon so superior a subject as this; but there is no expressing a true state of the case, or a just sense of the iniquitous traffic too frequently carried on upon such occasions, but by referring you to the phrases of Stock Jobbing.

BUT the bill now before us, proposes a reduction of a life-senate to a septennial one. The price then of a seat among us, would be considerably diminished. As we hold our senates only once in two years, we can have but three sessions to sell our country in. There they have an open market for seven; consequently, less bribery, debauch, and corruption, will necessarily obtain among us upon the proposed alteration in our constitution, than must generally, or incidentally, be occasioned, while it shall remain under the present tenure of a life-senate.

IN fine, we are willing to surrender our right to an annual senate, and accept of a septennial one : We are ready to compound for a session only every second year, instead of a claim to a yearly one : We offer to yield a prerogative by law, in exchange for an usage, against it.—This bill, as I said before, is relative solely to ourselves ; except that, as far as it extends itself to our parent country, it tends to the enlargement of the legal power of the crown.—If then so fair a proposal shall still be refused acceptance, we cannot, in reason, or justice, charge the miscarriage of it to any opposition there, but to what the selfish influence of the Bashaws among ourselves may have industriously raised against it.—From which, O Ministers of Grace, defend us !

THE post-boy sounds his horn, so I must bid you adieu, 'till the next packet.

Yours, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER

LETTER III.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA, TO HIS FRIEND
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Vane Ligur, frustra que animis elate superbis,
Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes.

VIRG.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Jan. 23, 1768.

YOU may perceive, from the state of the case in my last letter, what a constitutional advantage you at present enjoy above the Baratarians. You are yet in possession of annual, or of triennial parliaments, at least. Guard them well, and they will guard you. And now is the proper time to set your watch, when a new office has just been appointed by the ministry, of a secretary for your colonies, to take ye all into guardianship, and continue your minority in *secula seculorum*.

I SHALL now give some account of those particular measures, that have of late been practised against us; beginning first with the most pressing of them, as it is one that is at present in essay; namely, a design to load us with the addition of three thousand odd hundred men to our standing army, consisting of twelve thousand already;

ready ; so as to bring this poor and tradeless kingdom within one thousand of the military establishment of our great Carthage.

THE pretence, too, for such an augmentation is curious. It is in order to leave us in the possession of our former complement ; which we have so long paid for, without ever having had the benefit of it. If this was thought necessary, before, why have we been hitherto deprived of them ? And if not deemed necessary, why are our troops to be augmented at this time, in a state of profound peace, without the least manner even of plausible inducement for doing so ?

NOR do the circumstances of our finances afford any kind of temptation to such a wanton extortion towards us. We have been considerably in debt for many years past, and the very last year we were further dipt for seventy thousand more, by the impositions laid upon us in the last session, though the duties rose that year higher, than they had ever done in any year before.

BUT, indeed, I will not wrong the ministry, by charging upon them, any such unreasonable and unwarrantable attempt against our liberty and property both, as this augmentation too plainly appears to be—Its rise must be investigated much nearer home ; and the true state, or account of the matter, appears obviously to be this.

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TOWARD

TOWARD the latter end of last session, after a Militia Bill, which would have supplied every supposed necessity, and superseded every manner of pretence for an augmentation, had been thrown out by Rufinus and his partizans, he rises up, and pleads voluntarily for an addition of four thousand men to our military establishment, as a thing absolutely requisite to our safety.

WAS not this calling aloud to government for such a proposition, and promising publicly to support it? He plunged into the ford himself first, to sound the depths and shallows of it for them. He stepped forward, as a forlorn hope, to afford them the encouragement of his success, or the warning of his defeat.

ACCORDINGLY, such a measure, it seems, though with some moderation of his excess, has been adopted, in this session; that is, as we have been advertised by Rufin himself; for when a certain person, happened to mention in the senate, that he had heard it rumoured such a proposition was intended, every one else sat silent;—It was either not purposed, or not yet sufficiently prepared to be offered.—While this same advance guard, being vain and positive (as little men generally are, says Gilblas) instantly took the alarm, and fearing, lest his favourite scheme should vanish into air for want of courage or conduct among

his

his partizans, boldly stept forward, and like an herald denounced the war,

And all this I can do, because I dare.

SUCH a volunteer in iniquity is a new character among us. The *Cobors prætoria* of Barataria keep themselves always compact. They never skirmish. They deliberate, debate, and weigh in concert together whatever measures they think proper to propose to the public. But Rufinus, having no other merit or weight in himself, or family, or connection, must be forward, must be busy, in order to recommend himself to notice, or to prove his use.

THIS Antiochthon found it necessary to assume to himself a sort of self-created consequence, like his compeer Derrick, king Pepin of the Baths, who equally a Scythian, face all over, has by impudence, and insignificancy both, wormed himself into great emoluments of office, in spite of opposition; and attended throughout with ignominy and contempt.

By arts such as these, however, Rufin has raised himself into the consideration, though not the esteem, of our ministry here. For, whenever a new governor is appointed over our island, Rufin instantly hoists sail, *primo vere*, and lays hold of him by the ear directly. He talks plausibly,

and with full confidence; and has attained to a certain rank in the state, that makes him to be sufficiently attended to. These governors know nothing of the people they come over to rule, and very little of the business they are sent over to transact, and are generally indolent enough to rest themselves upon the first prop that presents itself; so that by this means, whatever pro-consul is deputed here, Rufin immediately kidnaps him into guardianship, and like another Trinculo erects himself into a Viceroy over him.

BUT what is admirable too, in this person's character, is, that in the close of both his speeches upon the augmentation Rufin softened them off, with only urging the present danger or necessity (*in a time of profound peace and security*) for such an expedient;—But *he hoped, he wished, he believed*, that the militia might, and would, hereafter, be put upon such a sufficient footing, for every defence of the state, that there should not remain soon the least necessity, or pretence, for continuing a single mercenary in our pay—except one Serjeant.

THIS is a species of that person's oratory. He begins first with proposing some arbitrary or extraordinary measure or other, and then palinodes it off again in the conclusion with some such
extravagant

extravagant wish or improbable suggestion. Thus he would only raise troops, until the experiment of a militia, *which nobody doubted of*, could be tried, and then he wished, he hoped, nay, he believed, &c. That is, "Let us put arms into the hands of a ministry sufficient for our defeat, and whenever you shall think fit to call upon them to exchange these for others that will answer only for our defence, you need say no more—a word to the wise will be enough." But whether we shall take the wise man's advice, of *spem pretio non emere*, or trust to the fool's wisdom, of dear-bought experience, is the only difficulty that can possibly occur upon the present question.

HIS whole elocution is alike futile, and superficial. It has verdure without soil, like the fields imagined in a calenture, on which whoever should attempt to repose, would soon be lost. He has great fluency, but little or no argument. He has made a good collection of words, and has got many of the flowers of speech by heart. He has some *Fancy* too, but it is such a one as passes beauty. It serves just to wrap him sometimes into the clouds and leave him there, hovering above reason and fluttering below imagination; while he holds himself suspended all the while planning,* and warbling like a lark, without one thought to interrupt the song. If

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* The power a Bird has of preserving it's equiliber, in the air, without using it's wings, or changing Scite.

IF he has any fort, it is in vituperation or abuse. This he acknowledged himself once, upon his being called to a severe account, for a deliberation of that kind; in which it has been generally allowed, that Rufin actually did render a Billingsgate Brawl into so dictionary a language, that, as Milton says in his Lycidas, Juno herself dared not have given him odds.—— He did, indeed, confess his character to be apt too much to exceed into a warmth of that kind; *Sunt quibus videor nimis acer*; and he will give us leave, I hope, to add the remainder of the sentence, which is full as true—*Et ultra legem tendere opus*.

My paper is too far spent to enter upon any other of the measures I have already hinted at, so adieu, my dear friend, until the next easterly wind.

Your's, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA TO HIS FRIEND
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Venali referens certamina campo.

LUCAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Jan. 26, 1768.

IN order to combat the purposed measure of an augmentation, our unwearied patriots have, I hear, once more prepared a militia bill to appear in array against it. Let them be both drawn forth to be reviewed on the Campus Martius, and then ask the Vox Populi to which of these corps they would chuse to trust the defence of their laws, their liberties, their properties? Whether to aliens, to mercenaries, to slaves, or to natives, to freemen, and champions *pro aris & focis*?

If the obvious solution of so plain a question may not be allowed a conclusive argument, political maxims must then be affirmed to differ widely from common sense and reason; which being the only logic of the people will, I hope, ever prove

too strong for the sophistry of a court. But reasons of state, they tell us, strike deeper into the nature of things, than the *prima facies* of general appearances. They do, indeed, so deep sometimes, as to wound the very vitals of the constitution.

RUFINUS, it seems, was one of these deep statesmen. He defeated the first Militia Bill, and then urged the expediency of an Augmentation. He has again proclaimed the latter, and is now using all his insidious arts to oppose the former. But what surprizes me most is, that this same recruiting serjeant has been able to trumpet Sancho, too, to his standard; whose favourite scheme, of old, a Militia Bill was; and to the effecting of which he exerted all his interest, rhetoric, and powers once in *La Mancha*. For Sancho, they say, is fond of a red-coat when dyed with—*Cochineal* only.

THE first stride of Rufin's apostacy was made in the first session of this senate, in support of a Money Bill, that had taken its rise in the Privy Council. This was a point-blank shot, let fly directly against the bulwark of our constitution, the democratic part of our senate. Money is the sinew of war, says Livy, it is the spring of all movements in a state; and while the people reserve to themselves the sole right of being the first movers of this great *primum mobile*, they leave
to

to government neither teeth, nor claws, to injure them. In reward for his having thus betrayed the palladium of our liberties into the hands of the besiegers, he was immediately promoted to the post of first serjeant in Barataria.

HIS next step in that session was the supporting a motion for raising several new regiments, in addition to our military force. The expence of this augmentation was, in the first place, an heavy and unreasonable burthen upon an already over-loaded people; but the application was still more grievous. We were treated like a ravaged country, where contributions are levied to maintain the very force that oppresses it. This measure of arbitrary power was carried that session; and for his active services in enslaving his country he was rewarded by the addition of a salary of 500*l.* a year to his office of Serjeant.

THE second session he most strenuously opposed an enquiry into the exorbitancy of Pensions laid upon this nation, to the amount of above four score thousand pounds a year; which exceeds our civil establishment, and is remitted mostly to foreigners and absentees.

IN the speech from the throne, delivered at the opening of that session, the senate was informed of the late peace having been concluded. This was a matter that we had nothing to do with. We

are never consulted about peace or war, nor are ever any preliminaries or definitive treaties laid before us. Therefore, as they could not fairly frame any judgment about the matter, the senate took no notice of that part of the speech in the address they returned to it. However, toward the close of that session some court manœuvres were performed, in concert with Rufin; and to the surprise and scandal of all Barataria, a particular, unprecedented, and servile address, in compliment to the peace, was moved for, and carried, against a strong and spirited opposition.

THE Serjeant's services, during the course of that session, were then to be taken into ministerial consideration. It had been discovered some time before, that the aforesaid additional salary was illegal. He must, therefore, resign it and accept the *sinécure* of Alnagers's place, a patent value, 1000*l. per ann.* in exchange. This same salary was then turned into a pension for life to the resigning Alnager, to whom Rufin paid also the further consideration of 3000*l.*

IN the first session pensions came again into enquiry. It was certainly a grievous oppression, both arbitrary and illegal. Rufin fought his country with the weapons of prerogative against law; and the patriots were overpowered in the field.

NEXT

NEXT came on a corn bill to empower our governor and council here, to lay on an embargo upon any present or foreseen scarcity of grain in Barataria. The bill was remitted to La Mancha, and was returned to us, altered after so extraordinary and unconstitutional a manner, that our patriots warmly opposed the passing of it. And even Rufin had not resolution enough, at that time, to support it; and without saying one word retired from the debate, taking his pupil, the then secretary, along * with him.

HOWEVER, he returned soon again, voted for it, and the point was carried by dint of numbers, without argument; and the serjeant, having recruited his courage with his forces, affirmed that the king had a right in himself to impose an embargo, at his own will and pleasure without any new law; —(a doctrine never advanced but in a land of despotism, and damned in the senate of La Mancha since that debate.)—And that, therefore, it ought to be accepted by the Baratarians as a most gracious condescension in his majesty, to admit any of the other estates into a legislative concurrence with him upon this occasion.

THE patriots bravely opposed their shields against this stab made at our constitution; but being, as before, over-powered by numbers, begged only for this reasonable quarter, that the foreign insertions
in

* Lord Beauchamp.

in that bill should not be brought into precedent for the future. But even this piece of justice was denied them, and the privy council of La Mancha by the maintenance of those insertions was suffered to stand upon our records, as part of the executive power of Barataria.

OUR privy council here, too, having made some encroachments on the constitution of this kingdom, the patriots, the guardians of our liberties, moved for leave to bring in a law more fully to explain an act, made in the time of Philip and Mary, explanatory of Poynings' law, relative to the power of our privy council. But the very idea was condemned unheard; nor would the Cohors Prætoria, headed by the Serjeant, hazard a subject of this kind, even to be brought into debate, lest the arguments in support of it might mark their opposition too strongly.

UPON this question the Serjeant, after his usual declamatory manner, affirmed, that the present frame of our constitution, guarded by a privy council, formed such a composition of civil polity, that if Harrington, the learned writer upon government, had been then alive, he would have found it impossible to have added any one article toward the improvement of our legislature.

BUT this enthusiasm with regard to the excellence of a privy council is natural, in such a person.

as our serjeant. He has lately, and fortuitously, happened to become a member of that illustrious body politic. When honours of course descend to men of hereditary pretensions, or become the reward of personal merit, they are apt to consider them with a sort of indifference, as family estates, or rightful purchases, merely. But, whenever your *Novi Homines* happen to rise to them, by accident, intrigue, or any other contingency, they must, necessarily, derive all their weight and consequence from the rank itself; which they, therefore, endeavour to elevate to a superior pre-eminence, as being themselves mainly interested in the dignity of it.

IN that same session too, Rafin, as was before related, defeated the militia bill, and first threw out his log line to sound the augmentation now depending. In consideration of such hireling services he was recompensed by a patent for the reversionary grant of secretary of state to Barataria; besides which he likewise demanded a reimbursement of the 3000l. he had paid as a fine for the purchase of the Alnager's office; which he claimed as a promise from government for his former hackney-ship.

THIS they are willing to grant him; but the ways and means were so guarded by the watchmen of the public, that it was difficult to find out a safe method of satisfying his demand. But
our

our Rufin, still fruitful in resources for his own advantage, applied for the commission of an half pay majority, which he had articked to dispose of to captain M——, for the said 3000l. This scheme was immediately adopted, and a letter was instantly dispatched to La Mancha to recommend so hopeful an expedient; but this secret happening, some way or other, to take wind among the friends of Barataria, this same letter of discredit was forthwith withdrawn, and the disappointed serjeant obliged to sit down with this loss, having only a thousand pounds a year to compensate him.

ADDED to all these emoluments, we must not forget the acquisition to his family of patent employments to his two sons; which, all together, amount to a much larger income and value for the ruin of one kingdom, than the gallant Hawke has been endowed with for the saving of three.

It was this kind of bravo—extortion that made our late Sadock, or high priest, stile Rufin a ready money voter, as he always insisted upon prompt payment for every service he rendered to the ministry. And he was in the right of it; for, where it is neither legal nor honourable to claim a reward, one should always take care to receive the wages of iniquity beforehand. Politicians are the only gang that have no confidence in one another.

THIS same single session, nay, this single member but double-tongued Ligurian, without influence

ence or connexion to support his measures, is constantly urging propositions to government, in order to harraß out opposition, even though they fail; and if successful, to strengthen their hands, so as to compel us into an union; or at least to induce one, by reducing us, to think it more prudent to sell out to a rich, a powerful, and an encroaching neighbour, and so become tenants under his protection, than to stand perpetual suits at law under the weight of his oppression. And in such a sad situation as this Machiavel would bring us into, it would certainly be better even to purchase a little liberty from our neighbours, than to live without any at all of our own. Reduced to such an alternative, it were almost better to place ourselves under the immediate protection of those, who must have some advantage in our welfare, than to remain under the subjection of tyrants among ourselves, who continue great, only thro' our meanness or expence.

BUT let us cast off the yoke of slavery, and vindicate our freedom and independence. Let us no longer be rid, rather than ruled, as we have too long been, by men who have neither heads nor hearts. Had they even heads alone, they might have contrived to have enriched themselves, without impoverishing us; or had they only hearts without understanding, they might be open to advice or reproof; and well meant blunders would neither be defended nor repeated.

BUT

BUT we frame a golden calf with our own hands, and then fall down and worship it. We submit ourselves to a tyranny without authority, and whose only power lies in our own hands. The brave Cassius could not brook the unconstitutional dictatorship of a Cæsar, while we crouch servilely to a Lepidus. Freedom is offered to us by the generous assertors of our liberties, while we, like Cappadocians, still hug the chain.

THE measures which this state-quack has pursued, ever since the commencement of his Licentiateship, have manifestly tended to a dissolution of our constitution. By reducing us to become a province only of another kingdom, he hopes to recommend himself to a seat in that senate, where he vainly imagines that his parts, but not possibly his arts, may soon render him considerable. And this would certainly much endear him to that city * which he represents at present; for should an union between Barataria and La Mancha, once prevail, that port would, necessarily, become soon the metropolis of this island, and reduce our present capital to a fishing village.

Adieu, until the next packet.

Your's, &c.

PHILADELPHUS.

* The city of Corke.

L E T T E R V.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA TO HIS FRIEND
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Quicquid agunt homines.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Jan. 30, 1768.

IT has been remarked by historians, that in the cycle of ages, or rotation of states, the slaves of arbitrary governments recover their liberty; and free nations in their turn lose theirs. France, Spain, Italy, and most the roman catholic countries, have been for some time making large strides toward freedom, which they will probably finally effect. For an idea of this kind, once well conceived, is never to be eradicated, as it is one so virtually congenial with our very nature.

THE late Dauphin's dying admonition to his father was a truly political testament, for that species of monarchy;—"That the abolishing the order of the Jesuits was a most imprudent act; as that society was one of the strongest bulwarks of arbitrary dominion." In this sentiment he was certainly right; for though those priests of Belial do

do knock a king on the head now and then, it is only in order to render his successor the more absolute, through their own means.

THE same unguarded policy obtaining, almost at the same time, throughout most of the roman catholic states of Europe, inclines me to think that the æra is near at hand, when the popular scale, no longer balanced by priestcraft, will make the regal one kick the beam.

IT is alike plain from history that providence, for it's own wise reasons, has never yet suffered all nations to be free at any one period. There is but a certain quota of liberty indulged to mankind, which they must share among them by turns. It is like the sea; when it flows in upon some coasts, it necessarily leaves others dry. It is like the all-chearing sun too, which cannot shine on all the world at once; and nations in succession only can partake its light or warmth.

THROUGH what means the several protestant states of Europe are likely to lose their liberties, is a subject too general for me to enter into here, my whole concern being entirely occupied at present in reflections more immediately relative to my own country.

I HAVE already informed you of some of those despotic and corrupt measures, which have lately been

been exercised against us; and I shall now proceed to give you an account of others in the same strain, which manifestly tend to the bringing about the rotation, I have above alluded to, and which will, too probably, commence with the Epicycle of Barataria.

THE law's delay has been an old and always a grievous complaint among us. The Frederic-code is not a digest to be even hoped for in these kingdoms. But the active friends of our constitution have sometimes endeavoured to remedy some of the grievances and inconveniencies of protracted suits of law; and particularly in the first session of this present senate, a bill was brought in to abridge the tedious process of them all, in such a manner as would have relieved most part of the difficulties and distresses of clients, and be equally advantageous both to plaintiff and defendant.

THIS bill was remitted over to La Mancha, in order to receive an approbation, which no political forecast could have in the least doubted of. It was, as I said before with regard to the septennial act, a matter that related solely to ourselves, and had not any manner of connection or interference with the laws, the interests or other policies, of that country.

BUT it seems that a certain La Manchan,* who holds by deputy a considerable public office in our courts

* Lord Hillsborough.

courts of law, and lives on the other side of the water, would have been a loser by our gain. Some of the fees of extortion and oppression, which the law as it then and still stands, impowered him to exact, would have been somewhat diminished, had so desirable a public good been obtained toward the benefit of the nation.

THIS La Manchon, therefore, rose up in arms against the bill, and unhappily for us happened to have power and influence sufficient to defeat it. Thus the unwarrantable interest of a single alien was preferred to the general advantage of the whole nation of Barataria.

WE laboured for a considerable time lately under another difficulty of the same nature, though of a more temporary kind, by the delay of having the highest post in the law here filled up in proper time; through which neglect we suffered greatly in the postponing of several suits of great consequence, depending in our high court of equity here.

THE patriots, both of our democracy, and of our aristocracy, in their separate departments this session moved for an address to his majesty, setting forth and strongly representing our grievance in this particular, and humbly intreating a speedy remedy to our complaint. But we were given to understand by Rufin and his associates, that such
murmurings

murmurings were an attack upon prerogative, that it was presumption to pretend to dictate to his majesty, that he would certainly do every thing proper in his own good time,—with other flowers of the same specious court-rhetoric. We doubted not his majesty's paternal attention toward the ease and welfare of his people, but we doubted and not without reason, the agency of his ministers; especially after a discovery of the sly Caledon's clandestine negociation, lately, with regard to that very office.

BUT the most arbitrary, the most wanton exertion of ministerial insolence, that perhaps ever yet was attempted toward a free people, remains yet to be related. On account of the great scarcity of grain, which had affected both La Mancha and Barataria for some time before, an act was passed the last session in the senate of the former, to empower his majesty at any time during the vacation of the senate, then ensuing, to lay an embargo upon all corn carrying out of either kingdom, until the twentieth day of September last; the mode of exerting that power was also prescribed to be by proclamation, printed in the La Manchan Gazette.

IN the same act, by a later clause, this power was further extended in time, only to the next meeting of the senate, at which period the act should cease; but if the proclamation should happen to be still standing

ing out, at the opening of the next session it was provided for by a further clause, that it should continue in force for twenty days longer. But in these latter clauses Barataria is not once mentioned; the power being confined to La Mancha only; and the mode of publication, as before prescribed, to be in the La Manchan Gazette.

THIS proclamation was issued in La Mancha in all it's forms, and continued during it's legal period, there. But all this while the governors and council of Barataria, taking no notice of the La Manchan act, issued their own proclamation as usual in times of dearth or scarcity of corn, and they were suffered still to continue it, without offence to the La Manchan ministry.

THIS proclamation continued the embargo here, until the twenty-seventh of Nov. being two days after the La Manchan senate had been convened, when the sage Sancho, by and with the advice of his privy council, those guardians of our constitution in the opinion of Rufin, ordered our proclamation to be with-drawn, and issued a new one on his own authority, reciting the La Manchan act, which had expired two days before; thinking that the mere ghost of a La Manchan law was sufficient to awe the cowardly Baratarians into submission. Nor was even the mode obtained, had the law still subsisted; for the publication was made in the Baratarian, not in the La Manchan Gazette.

SUCH

SUCH a proceeding was certainly most extraordinary and unaccountable in our ministry here. Were they stupid themselves, or did they think us so? The imposition of an authority over us, without the least pretence of any subsisting law, even of implication, was assuredly an open declaration, that the prerogative was henceforward to become the sole code of Baratarian rights.

THIS invasion upon our liberty, this irruption into our constitution, was warmly opposed by the champions of our freedom in the Baratarian senate. But, alas! in vain. The activity of Rufinus, with the supineness or irresolution of the colonel, served equally toward our defeat; we were out-numbered as before. So that by this acquiescence we have admitted ourselves to be slaves at the sole mercy of the conqueror.

Omnia venalia Romæ, was the motto of that great commonwealth, just before it's declension. And I am sorry to be obliged to conclude this letter with the reflection I made in the first paragraph of our correspondence, that "like causes must ever produce similar effects." Avert this omen, o ye champions of liberty and Barataria.

I SHALL now take my leave, for the present, with another quotation from the same letter, by
declaring

declaring to you, that "I call not out for the sword,
but for the shield."

Adieu,

PHILADELPHUS.

L E T T E R VI.

FROM A NATIVE OF BARATARIA TO HIS FRIEND
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

*In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora.*

Ov.

MY DEAR CORRESPONDENT, Feb. 2, 1768.

I HAVE in some of my former letters mentioned a certain appendix or accretion to our government, that I hope is unknown among your happier colonies.—A sort of wen or excrescence, that has grown out of the corruption of our constitution, and is nourished solely by its distemper. The disorder I hinted at is a certain body of men, selected by the crown, under the denomination of a privy council for this kingdom.

THERE is indeed in La Mancha a constitutional body of the same denomination established, who
confine

confine themselves within the original design of their institution, by continuing to act only as a council of advice, not of operation; while ours challenge and exercise rights of controul, totally destructive of our legislature.

IN the reign of Henry VII. a representation being made to the king, that some of his vicegerents here had sometimes, without the knowledge or consent of the crown, taken upon them to summon a senate, partially and suddenly, upon frivolous pretences, or from interested motives, to obtain the sanction of certain laws for their own purposes, to which they assumed a power of giving the royal assent, without the knowledge of the monarch.—For these reasons, sir Edward Poynings was appointed pro-consul of this kingdom, with instructions to enquire into, and remedy these grievances.

AND this great end was sufficiently answered by the obtaining a law to be made that no senate should be thenceforward summoned in Barataria, before the reasons or exigencies for convening the same should be certified by the governor and council of Barataria, and transmitted over to La Mancha, and be returned approved of by his majesty and council there.

THE scope of this act tended manifestly to the advantage of this nation, by restraining a wanton
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and arbitrary abuse of power in the vice-roy here, but could never be meant to grant any additional privileges to the vice-roy and council, or abrogate from the senate any of it's former rights. No part, either of the letter or the spirit of that law, affords the least manner of pretence for either of these assumptions.

AND yet, upon a forced and unwarrantable construction of this very act, our privy council, these guardians of our constitution, have not only presumed to claim, but dared to exercise powers which would, if submitted to, render our senates the meer pupils of these high mightinesses; to perform those exercises, and discuss those themes, only, that were marked out to them by their preceptors.

FOR, because the reasons for summoning the senate are previously to be certified by them, they pretend to argue that a senate has no manner of right to propose or debate upon any one article, which is not within their certificate. This is what they presume to claim. And also because they are to certify the causes for the calling of a senate, they have assumed the sole right of certifying or transmitting, and also of not certifying or transmitting the bills proposed by the senate. And this is what they dare exercise.

THUS

THUS have this despotic council established themselves, *authoritate sua*, into the rank of perpetual dictators, and arrogated to their institution the exclusive rights of *the Lords of Articles*, who used to exercise the same sort of privileges in the kingdom of Scotland; where that collective body, being nominated by the crown, became fit tools of arbitrary power, and soon rendered the senates of that nation more insignificant than a grand jury, who are allowed to propose and debate upon the business of their country, without any previous consent.

BUT I am ashamed of insisting so long upon an argument, that so few words may sufficiently clear up. I need only ask this insolent, this self-created fourth estate, whether the privy council of La Mancha have ever presumed to claim or dared to exercise any of those powers, which ours pretend to? Had they even ever possessed any such, they are so absolutely repugnant to every idea of a free constitution, that they would certainly have been abolished at the revolution. But that great political crisis left them just as it found them, an harmless council of deliberation and advice, not an estate of concurrence or co-operation. Now, the only question that need be asked upon so fair a state of the matter, is, whether our own senates could ever have meant to grant a power to controul themselves? Or whether La Mancha, our parent country, would ever have concurred in raising our

privy council to a rank and dignity in the state, which they have denied to their own ?

THE privy council is no part of our constitution, any more than the counsel at the bar are of our courts. They have forced themselves upon us like the Decemvirs among the Romans. They were no part of the original institution, and by assuming a right of cognizance and controul in all matters relative to the state, finally occasioned those convulsions in the common-wealth, which must naturally arise from such innovations, where any idea or spirit of freedom, remains among the people.

THE only way of preserving the subsistence of a state is by making it, upon all difficult occasions, recur back again to its first principles. Any innovation by way of amendment to it is dangerous; *assuitur pannus*. It is like introducing auxiliaries into the heart of a country by way of defending,—rather of enslaving it. It is like the present scheme of securing our liberty and property by an augmentation. Rome and Greece fell by such empiric expedients. It puts me in mind of an epitaph upon a splenetic person who had quacked himself to death.

*I was well,—but I would be better,
I took physic—and I died.*

B A R A T A R I A N A. 53

A FREE senate is the only safe-guard of our liberties ; the *Thermopolæ* of our freedom. Let us then call forth a *Leonidas* to defend that pass, and our three hundred Baratarians shall be found sufficient to repel the numerous hosts of the opulent, the voluptuous, and the invading Persian.

Adieu,

PHILADELPHUS.

L E T T E R VII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

May 24, 1768.

HAVING seen an incorrect and imperfect address handed about, as the answer of the inhabitants of Barataria to their Governor, full of *stars* and *dashs*, which I make no doubt must embarrass the reader as much as they generally do me in the house, I send you herewith a correct copy of their answer, at large, without either dash, star, or blank ; by inserting which in your paper, you will oblige

Your humble Servant,

E. S.

Cler. Dom. Com.

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THE ANSWER OF THE INHABITANTS OF BARATARIA, TO THE SPEECH OF SANCHE PANCA THEIR GOVERNOR.

MOST GRACIOUS SANCHE,

WE are charmed beyond measure with your modesty and humility. We can assure you with the strictest truth, that we are as satisfied as yourself can be of your inability to support the weight of government, of your meanness in tamely submitting to the tyrannical dictates of your haughty masters, and endeavouring to carry into execution schemes, which even your own weak brain informed you, would be highly injurious to the interest of the people you govern, and draw upon you the universal odium of the whole kingdom. We see you in the very posture you have so faithfully and characteristically portrayed yourself, with your hands pinioned behind you.—But, although we cannot but commend your modesty, your want of spirit is by no means the object of our admiration: even a worm will turn when trodden on. We are unable to conceive such a want of spirit in a human breast, as not to prefer the thanks, applause and grateful acknowledgments of a generous people, to the poor satisfaction of gratifying men who have loaded you with every species of indignity which malice could suggest, or contempt of you inspire; who, after you have performed the disagreeable task, will immediately divest you of that shadow of
power

power which you at present possess. The treatment which you lately met with, one would have imagined, could not but have raised resentment, even in a stoic's bosom. Ministers have made you publicly give a promise of a law to improve our constitution, and afterwards put it out of your power to perform it. For, at length, this boasted constitutional law appears to be nothing less than a requisition to recognize, in the most solemn manner, a power most unjustifiably usurped by the secret committee, and to carry that power farther than was before ever thought of. The recognition of which would entail slavery on us and our posterity for ever. We consider this, not only as an indignity to you, but as the greatest insult that was ever offered to a free people. The only reason that we can suggest to ourselves for having a law sent to us, which could not but be rejected, is, that the very same promise may afford ample matter to fill up the vacuum of your successor's most gracious speech, as it did of your own. Considering these things, we cannot help exclaiming, is this the man who succeeded the young and spirited Turnus as chief commander, at an ever memorable engagement? Is this the man whose courage and military exploits Fame has trumpeted in no common sound?

WE are fully convinced that it was not you who obtained for us a law to limit the duration of leases: * that law was sent us, either out of policy, in order

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der

* The Octennial Bill.

der to put a stop for the future to all proud connexions in this country, or through an imagination, that it was only transmitted in certain security of its never being returned to us, being extorted solely by the importunity of the people, and not passed by the disinterested patriotism of legislators; and that therefore on its return it would be unanimously rejected; by which means the grand council would not only render itself thoroughly contemptible, but be unable ever after to make the same request with propriety or prospect of success. Your own insignificance, and the contempt with which you are treated by the men in power, are sufficient indications of your inability to obtain, by any interest you could make, so important a point. And you may rest assured that the credit we give you on this account, is only that we may induce governors to interest themselves in other measures for the advantage of this country, by shewing them that even the most distant appearance of having benefited us, is sufficient to obtain our thanks and applause. We were present at the debate relative to the introduction of foxes and firebrands, and heard with equal indifference the unconnected and half-formed sentences of fox-hunters, the disinterested harangues of candidates for peerages, and the flimsy attempts of military heroes, who imagine long speeches necessarily contain weighty and forcible arguments. One veteran indeed pleaded for foxes, on whose attachment and fidelity to Barataria we always placed the firmest reliance;

reliance ; we heard him with emotion and concern, but without conviction : arguments he had none ; at some expressions our hearts sunk within us, and at length tears stole silently down our cheeks. But we are still confident that his vote was given for foxes, thro' error in judgment, and not want of steadiness to the interests of Barataria. But we heard with the highest satisfaction such sounds as these :——“ We well remember what an universal alarm some time ago spread itself throughout the kingdom, on the supposition of an intended union ; how much more ought we now to be alarmed, when we are required to submit to all the inconveniences of an union, without any the least prospect of participating of its advantages. By agreeing to the proposed introduction of foxes, we shall subject ourselves to a greater share of the burdens of our mother country, than even Highland bears, which is suffered to partake of every blessing which a free and uninterrupted commerce can bestow.— Many benefits we have been told will arise to us from the introduction of these vermin, but what security have we that they will be suffered to remain among us ? The promise of sportsmen.— Nay, not so much, only the intention of promises. And can we, who have so often been imposed upon, place any confidence in so fallacious a security ? At the beginning of a late war we granted money for a fresh recruit of foxes, on the assurance of a sportsman that they should continue among us ; but even be-

fore this promise was made, orders had been issued for their being transported out of our country ; so that in fact the promise was broken even before it was made. We again and again granted money for the same purpose on the same security, and were again and again deservedly the dupes of our own credulity. But what is the most abominable of all, is, that we shall probably put ourselves to this expence in order to imbrue our hands in the blood of our fellow-sufferers and fellow-countrymen, whose sole crime is the love of liberty. The cause of the provinces is our own cause ; the same law that enslaves them enslaves us likewise. And shall we submit to the cruel, base and ignominious task of supporting a system begun by a weak, and pursued by a wicked, administration ? God forbid. Let us rather speak to our mother country in the language of the gallant Frenchman to his king, who, when he was ordered to perform some base action, exclaimed “ I am ready to expend my fortune, and lose my life in your service ; but I will never submit to do any thing unbecoming the character of a soldier and a man.” But what language can we find to express our gratitude to him, who proved by irrefragable arguments our inability to support the expence which would be incurred by the intended increase of taxes ? His calculations were so fair, even your own scribe was forced to acknowledge they were just. Indeed upon whatever subject this champion of our liberty speaks, he speaks with such knowledge, accuracy and perspicuity, that

that one would imagine that subject had been the chief object of his enquiry. — Does he make calculations ; what arimetician more exact ? — Does he plead his country's cause ; what breast glows not with patriotism ? — He seems to us nearly to approach to that great original, whom he so well understands, Demosthenes. He has all his fire, brevity and perspicuity. And we trust that he will not only be handed down to posterity as a genius and an orator, but what will be much more to his honour a man of integrity. — Your excellency we are certain will excuse this digression on the character of a man, whom you cannot but admire.

WE see and lament with your excellency your want of ability for the arduous task of government. But your abilities in the social character are universally acknowledged and esteemed. We have seen with equal pleasure and astonishment your excellency and your Bacchanalian associate at the politest assemblies, even at Attic entertainments, reeling to and fro in all the agreeable attitudes, which a head full of wine naturally occasions. We cannot but look upon you both as appearing with peculiar dignity in such situations. You as a governor of an extensive kingdom, he as governor of a learned seminary, whose exemplary behaviour must have the happiest influence on the youth over whom he presides. It will be unnecessary for us to recommend it to you, because we are certain it is
your

your own inclination, to drown all your cares and the thoughts of the indignities you suffer in that best friend, a brimmer. Let politics be no longer your care.

— *Satius cum Phylide ludere in umbra ;
Teque, Lyæ pater, lætis celebrare choræis.
Novit enim Bacchus curas depellere, novit
Præteriti sensus abolere metumque futuri.*

THE INHABITANTS OF BARATARIA.

LETTER VIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

X

S I R,

Dec. 30, 1769.

THE right of the house of commons to reject bills has never been denied by the most shameful sycophants, not even by the Castle itself; nor has it been ever asserted, that a money bill is exempted from this right; it has never been asserted, that a bill which grants the treasure of the nation is the only bill the nation cannot refuse, or that those measures which are most interesting to our being are above our determinations. The very ministers who introduced this bill to the house submit it to the sense of parliament; and allow, tho' the approbation of the house be expedient, its negative

gative is constitutional. The law of Poynings requires a bill to be certified as a reason for assembling an Irish parliament, but the law of Poynings does not require, and the reason of the constitution forbids, that a money bill should be certified. Does the law of Poynings, by requiring the council to certify some bill, enable it to certify any bill? Does it let that body loose upon the sacred property of the commons, and remove even the shadow of an English constitution? It only gives a power to the council, but it does not unappropriate that power which the constitution has exclusively given the commons, much less does it condemn the commons to an assent, and insult them by the mockery only of a consultation. Sensible of this the house of commons rejected a money bill, and assigned as their motive the place of its origination. In this proceeding what was there unconstitutional? The exertion of their negative was not so, or if the house had asserted an exclusive property in originating grants of money, their resolution as little would have been unconstitutional. But they did not assert this right. They assigned their reasons without ascertaining or declaring the law of the land. They did not call the misrepresentations of Poynings law, illegal; they only refused to give them their approbation. They have not violated any law, or invaded the privileges of any of the estates, but they are not obliged to sanctify with their approbation the pretensions, or even the existence of a privy council; and
because

because they refused to do this, a protest was issued against them, and the parliament was prorogued. How comes it that the people of Ireland must not only obey, but must not dare to dislike? How comes it that we must not presume to frown on our fetters, or murmur with modesty at the indignity of bondage? Can this kingdom be said to have a parliament? Or what is an Irish parliament, if they exist but by a charter of submission, and are annihilated as soon as they become the servants of the public? If, after dispatching the business of government, after making new grants to the crown, after imposing new burdens upon themselves, in gratitude for their liberality and consolation for their expences, they are to be prorogued for exerting their rights and maintaining their constitution? Better have no parliament than the mere form of an estate, which passes its sense at its peril, and can only ensure its continuance by betraying its trust. We have incurred the wrath of ministry for one instance of opposition, and our crime is, the honour of rejecting a bill, which had been fatal to our constitution, which was unnecessary to government, and which we had a right to reject. We now are informed by administration that our independency is criminal, and that our virtue is offensive to our gracious sovereign.— We are told that we have a British constitution, but we must not aspire to the spirit of it; we are assembled to be the agents of ministry, and shall continue as long as venality and infamy make us precious

precious to administration. We feel that we have a parliament by the anarchy of a general election, and we learn that we have a faithful parliament by its prorogation. This has been declared to us by the proceedings of Tuesday last, and if any thing can equal the iniquity, it is the folly of this measure. What could be so blind as to incense another country, and make Ireland concur with Great-Britain in their abhorrence of the present ministry? The Lord Lieutenant was so conscious of the audacity and folly of this measure that he remained in his palace, counterfeiting infirmities, cursing the winds, and belying the arguments of his own servants, while he pondered on the execution of a measure by which he has lost himself in this kingdom for ever. A measure which will send him back to his native country accompanied with the curses of ours; for I do not suppose he will once more face an exasperated parliament, or call upon the sense of an insulted people. It is our consolation, however, that our injuries must be odious to the people of England; because they are a free people, and because they abhor the ministry that impose these injuries; there is no time therefore when our redress will be more popular or our oppressors more feeble; we join our complaints to those of Great Britain, and like that kingdom we have the virtue to be oppressed by the common enemy.

POSTHUMUS.

LETTER

LETTER IX.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISC. TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Jan. 9, 1770.

YOU may possibly think it hard to be censured for a measure, which you are supposed to have condemned ; you may think yourself rescued in your political impotence from the detestation of this kingdom. It is your defence, my lord, that you have no weight on the other side of the water, that you are not the adviser of our ruin, but have the merit of being only the executioner of the rights of parliament.

BUT this country has not so entirely forgotten the dignity of the representative of majesty (tho' your lordship has resided above two years among us) as to admit that contemptuous opinion you seem to aspire to ; it beholds you as the only prominent feature of mal-administration in this kingdom, and therefore the only object of public indignation ; and we pay you the compliment to esteem you a criminal, rather than the base drudge of an English minister, who despises and disgraces you ; it is therefore, my lord, the full odium of the

the measure of the 26th of December falls upon you, and that your lordship cannot depart from this country with the good fortune of only being an object of its contempt. The legality of the conduct of the commons does not require any further arguments; it has been every where discussed, and except at court every where acknowledged; to protest therefore against the rights of a kingdom was an outrageous measure, such as the present ministry alone could have insisted on, such as your lordship alone could have executed. You say you had orders; I believe you had orders, but as there are terms on which no honest man will accept an employment, so are there terms on which no honest man will continue in one; and the English minister, who could compel lord Townshend to execute the worst orders, could not compel lord Townshend to continue lord lieutenant. This nation does not pay the chief governor an immense salary purely for the honour of beholding him, nor does it mean that he should be a mere cypher of state, unable to serve us and obsequious to injure us. We looked for protection not violation in your lordship, and you have not answered the purpose of your magistracy, in being the channel to let in upon this kingdom the tyrannic administration of another. You have destroyed yourself among us by the conduct you have pursued. I will suppose you had pursued another conduct, and instead of endeavouring to keep your employment upon any terms, that you had laid it down,

when

when ignominious terms were proposed. The consequence must have been that you would have been recalled, as you will now be recalled, but recalled with honour, not infamy. You would have been caressed by this kingdom with the raptures of gratitude, and you would have been received with acclamation by another, who must have admired a spark of liberty in a breast where it was so little expected, and who would have applauded you the more, because recommended by the sanction of ministerial displeasure. And for what more worthy object have you rejected the applause of nations? For the approbation of an administration so odious, that no honest man, so precarious, that no wise man, would have supported it. This administration if it continues no doubt will reward you; you may obtain a sinecure which you cannot disgrace, or you may obtain some place where dignity and decency and capacity would have been superfluous; or, to insult this kingdom, still more you may become a pensioner on its establishment, and be judiciously placed on that list where guilt is meritorious. You came to this kingdom at a time that was fortunate for your lordship, for you came when a graceless familiarity might have been popular, because contrasted with the sordid austerity of your rapacious predecessor. But then my lord your incoherent conduct destroyed the advantage at this conjuncture. You came here to destroy the power of an old junto; and you declared that you yourself had no power. You came, my lord, to establish govern-
ment

ment in Ireland on its own authority, and you gave the wages of government to those who opposed government. You came to destroy *the undertakers* in this kingdom, and by your late measure you have made their party the party of the nation. These men now, my lord, have destroyed you. Your insight into men seems to equal your insight into measures, and you have brought into parliament, for their parliamentary talents, men who have no parliamentary talents ; your elect could not defend your measures, but they could embarrass your lordship by abusing all your connections.* My lord, the genius of your administration seems to have been a rage of unbecoming inconsistency, and your government has been surprizing to all men, and to all bodies of men, from the sacred person who fills the throne, to the gazing throng who wonder at your relaxation of all dignity—The nation must have been surprized to behold your lordship proscribing a kingdom for its virtue, while the servants of government, who also opposed you, escaped the observation of your political vigilance ; the nation must have been likewise surprized upon a former occasion, when after obtaining applause for assenting to an Octennial Bill, you exclaimed against that bill, and corrected an undeserved popularity by entering a private protest against your own measures ; and, my lord, it has not been the least

* Mr. S———t, who was brought into parliament by lord Townshend, shortly after he was introduced into the house, made a violent invective against the English ministry.

least of your absurdities, that your private declarations have been libels on your conduct.——

Your gracious master I make no doubt was surprized when he heard that the deputy of a king (and give me leave to remind you, a pious and a decent king) had abandoned his sovereign, his office and himself; and that at a drunken feast with drunken aldermen the representative of majesty was seen to squabble with age and infirmity without any other excuse but your Excellency's intoxication. You yourself, my lord, must have been surprized when in the presence of the whole nation, your secretary thought proper to disclaim all connection with his master, and disavowed your lordship in vindication of his character—strange, my lord, that your conduct should not only be the most outrageous, but the most foolish and indecent thing imaginable.

Your friends, my lord, may possibly say “what could this weak and capricious man have done? Placed as he is infinitely above his pretensions, could he prescribe the terms of his station? He who had been so useless to ministry, should he have afterwards embarrassed them? Should such a man dare to be conscientious and become refractory as well as helpless?” The people will answer your friends, that incapacity should have been a pledge for inoffensiveness, and that you should not have injured a kingdom you had not abilities to govern; that you should have compensated

penfated for the weaknefs of your adminiftration by a glorious conclufion, and after fo many indecencies, and fo many abfurdities, your lordfhip fhould have made one effort at reputation.

POSTHUMUS.

L E T T E R X.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Jan. 20, 1770.

THAT the conduct of your representatives fhould be laid fairly before you, is of as much importance to you as to them. A houfe of parliament has been condemned, and a nation has been punifhed: the laws have been violated by the houfe of commons, or they have been falfified by his majefty's representative; and the innocence of the one is the guilt of the other. You are to confider no lefs a queftion, than whether the guardians of the laws have prefumed to infringe them, or whether a libel has been uttered from the throne.

THE commons have rejected a money-bill, and have added this refolution, "Resolved, that the "faid bill is rejected, becaufe it did not take its "rife in this houfe." The chief governor has arraigned their conduct from the throne, and has
censured

censured this resolution as "being contrary to the
" 10th of Henry VII. and to the 3d and 4th of
" Philip and Mary." If then this vote and reso-
lution do *not* contradict these laws, it follows that
the charge upon your representatives is false and
libellous, and that the falsehood is criminal in pro-
portion to the dignity of the body which it calum-
niates, and dangerous in proportion to the autho-
rity which gives it sanction.

LET us then allow for a moment every interpre-
tation which our enemies have given to those sta-
tutes, and forget their history and their true mean-
ing. We shall find the cause of the chief gover-
nor so deplorable, that, even admitting that expla-
nation of those statutes which curtails the rights of
the commons the most, the conduct of the com-
mons will still be justified and his excellency's must
still be condemned. I will allow then for argu-
ment's sake that there is no difference between a
supply-bill and any other law, and that by the law
of Poynings and of Philip and Mary, the coun-
cil have an undoubted right to give rise to a mo-
ney-bill without any suggestion from the commons.
The bill then was certified by an assembly, who
had a right to give rise to it, and had as legal an
origin as if it had been first proposed in the house
of commons. That any of the three estates of
parliament may reject a bill so certified, no man
will deny. But the lord lieutenant has asserted
that the vote and resolution, wherein the commons
assign

assign their reason for rejecting the bill proposed to them, are contrary to Poynings' law, and the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary. In what terms then shall we speak of the treatment we have received, if it shall appear that there is not one word in that resolution which contradicts any exposition of those statutes? Yet perhaps so manifest a truth has never been brought into question. Had the commons asserted that they *only* had a right to give rise to money-bills, then indeed they would have denied an explanation which some persons have made of the laws of this country. But they did not make such an assertion; they did not deny the powers which have been ascribed to the privy council of giving rise to money-bills; but they did not esteem that mode of granting the most deserving of their approbation.

OF two methods equally legal the one may in other respects be preferable to the other, and it is their right and duty to consider expediency as well as legality. The proposition of a money-bill from the council may be as lawful as the proposition of such a bill from the commons; but what follows from this concession? That the two modes are equally legal, but not that they are equally eligible. Allowing them to be equal in point of law, there may be other respects in which they may not be equal; and if such be the opinion of the commons, may they not reject the one method perpetually upon that principle, and give the other method

method a perpetual preference? If I refuse a request from a disapprobation of the person who makes it or of his method of asking, or if I say that I will not give any thing because the first movement did not spring from myself, but from another person, does it follow from thence that I deny that person's right to ask of me?—He has a right to ask, let him use it. But I will not give any thing upon such a request.—Had the commons gone farther than they did, and had added another resolution that they never would pass a money-bill which did not take its rise in their house, even this would not have contradicted his excellency's exposition of the laws of Poynings and Philip and Mary; it would be only declaring the use they would make of their undoubted power of rejection, without denying the power of proposition which the council has claimed. But so far is the resolution of the commons from contradicting the laws we speak of, that a man, who agreed with our enemies in their exposition of them, might also agree with the resolution of the commons. Nay, that very exposition might be made a part of that resolution, and embodied in the same sentence, and yet the resolution would remain perfectly consistent. Suppose for example the resolution had been worded thus; “resolved, that the said bill is rejected because it did not take its rise in this house but in the privy council, who certified it according to Poynings' law, and the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, which we confess to be a legal, but do
“ not

“not esteem to be the most eligible method of giving rise to bills of supply.” Here is the power of the council asserted in the same sentence with the resolution of the commons. How do they contradict? Where is their inconsistency? Have we not here a proof, equal even to mathematical demonstration, of the falshood of the chief governor’s assertion. Let his friends then spare themselves the trouble of torturing the statutes; let them have mercy upon law, history, and common sense. Their expositions may injure their country, but cannot serve their patron.

SUCH has been the crime of the parliament, and what has been the punishment of the nation? Be not amused with the expectation of a meeting in March. You see already that the conduct of the commons was but the pretext of the last prorogation. The chief governor feared then to meet the parliament, and will he dare to meet them now with an impeachment over his head? Depend upon it, you will have no meeting in March, unless your representatives undergo such a change, that their meeting will be more injurious than their prorogation.——You cannot give credit to a tale, which it is his interest to propagate, and you know that even he is capable of the miserable arts of falshood and dissimulation.——Miserable arts indeed, and now more than ever degraded, since even he has practised them with success. You cannot again be deceived by his artifices, nor can

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you so grossly mistake the genius of the English ministry.

WHAT then is the condition of this country? The interruption of public works, and the absolute decay of some, the ruin of the silk manufacture, which as yet exists but by the premium, the wound to the trade of the metropolis, the bankruptcy of the Dublin Society, the expiration of temporary statutes, and the support of public charities, are but trivial considerations when compared to the suspension of an active, uncorrupted parliament, to the lapse of four years without one act except a supply-bill, to the violation of truth even from the throne, to the intimidation of future virtue, to the degradation of your parliament, and to the insult which has been offered to your understanding. Nor will this be the only consequence, if we may credit general report, or speculate upon the conduct of inconsistent men. A general election, the inconveniences of which you bear to ensure virtue in your representatives, will now be made the punishment of their virtue; and you will find that your parliament is to exist only while it is servile. Many there are, who think this measure too mad even for Townshend to advise or Grafton to enjoin.—They observe that the supporters of government would suffer more than its opponents.—But from the return which our late liberalities have obtained, let them judge of the weight which gratitude will have with this ministry.—

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'They remark, that the rights of the crown, if invaded, have been asserted as fully by the protest, as if a dissolution were to follow, and that personal resentment could be the only motive for such a procedure.—But let them reflect, that the prorogation was also wanton and unnecessary, and from the transactions in a sister kingdom let them judge how far personal resentment can infect public measures. The ministry will not fail to consider, that there are still two millions of subjects, whose affections they have not been able to detach from their sovereign. They will not miss such an opportunity of offending, as the exertion of a prerogative against the virtues of one nation, whilst they refuse it to the supplications of another. The clan, which surrounds the throne, will not spare a weakness which they may injure with impunity, nor pardon an hereditary loyalty, which insults the novelty of their own conversions. In such a situation, you will shew them by the choice you shall make, how far it is convenient to oppress you; how far you will gratify your oppressors, by concurring with them in the punishment of the innocent. That sense of honour, for which you have ever been distinguished, will inflict a heavy disappointment upon ministerial malice; party and connection will be lost in the greater consideration—that no man should suffer for his fidelity.—But an upright choice alone will not be sufficient; you will then have a recent instruction, that the independence of a parliament is the sure prognostic of its dissolution.—

The unexampled generosity of this nation has obtained no recompence ; you have no other resource but in your power——instruct your future representatives, that they grant the supplies for six months, only, in the first instance. Rely not upon those who have oppressed and deceived you, but upon yourselves, and your constitutional powers. If the people themselves be deficient in virtue or in spirit, let them not expect either in any of the branches of the legislature. They have a thousand little interests which contend with their public virtue ; but the people at large can have none. Let the powers of the constitution be made use of to secure its benefits.——It is better to have no parliament than an assembly that has power to burden you, but is sure to expire if it attempts to serve. If such be the maxim by which you are governed, parliament itself becomes an useless incumbrance, and the constitution of England is adopted in vain.

I OMIT to examine the legality of intruding the protest of the chief governor into the journals of an house of parliament. Those who have read the protest of the Lords, will not be at a loss what to think of that measure. Neither shall I examine each particular folly which the speech and the protest contain ; I am not very ambitious of such victories over his lordship, and I leave them, and the wretched being who delivered them, to the opinion which the world has already formed.

formed. With such important concerns before us, he is not worth our attention. The creature of an abandoned minister has no character of his own, except the infamy of having become that creature. His conduct on the judges bill has been a sufficient gratification for his personal enemies; and if his personal character only had been concerned, I should not have shewn such a superfluity of malice, as to prove the delegate of one falshood to be the author of another. I should have treated him with that contemptuous lenity, which hitherto has tolerated his administration, which was ready to call his caprice and rashness, the effusions of his heart, and to give the name of candour to the looseness of his tongue. The only part of his administration which we should call his own, is his peculiar ingratitude to this nation; a nation which received him with such a partiality, that they seemed to have drank oblivion to every former action of his life, from the time when he pilfered the fame of his general, before the wounds of the conqueror, or the tears of his soldiers, had ceased to flow, to the day when he offered to cram the stamp-act down the throats of the Americans. We expected perhaps no uncommon danger from a man who had not address to influence, or dignity to engage. Our passions are seldom violent against the object of our contempt, and we are indulgent to the unthinking soldier, though soldiers are not always unwilling enemies to liberty, and though folly be not always undefining. The same un-

common fortune, which once gave him the dregs of a victory, sent him into this kingdom at a time when any man would be popular, and he has paid to our generosity the same honest tribute that he gave to the manes of his former benefactor. From this wretched system of government we must appeal to our constitutional strength, and to the wisdom and generosity of our sister country. At the commencement of those arbitrary measures, which caused the last revolution, the English took the first alarm from the oppression of Scotland; they will now see the disposition of their governors in this country, where fear has not confined it. Our situation will warn them of their danger, if in their own, they want a monitor.

POSTHUMUS.

L E T T E R XI.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT TOWN-
SHEND.

MY LORD,

Feb. 3, 1770.

NOTWITHSTANDING your public conduct, this nation has obligations to you, and we should be the most ungrateful people on earth if we did not return you thanks, for administering to us the comfort of despising you; we thank you,
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my lord, that if you have been odious, you have been despicable also; and we acknowledge of the many thousands you have injured by your conduct, that there is not one man, who does not insult you with his compassion, and look down on your person with all the superiority of scorn and indignation: we must have expired under your measures if we had not this secret satisfaction of contemplating your character, and considering the humility of your destiny, that must never aspire to any thing more exalted than hatred, mitigated by derision. Our sense of injury is somewhat appeased, when in Council we behold you in the capacity of a political anarchy, presiding over the misrule of your own administration; or when we see you deserting the Council, and at the most important crisis, forsaking the business of the nation for the sports of the field. We pity that intellectual hurricane that has driven you through the discharge of your duty with so much impropriety, and now drives you from the discharge of your duty with so much indecency; and really, my lord, if you were not our chief governor, you are most undoubtedly entitled to a station below our resentment.

WE, my lord, who have beheld your predecessors, thought nothing at this time could be new in a Lord Lieutenant, except virtue; rashness could not astonish a people who had seen the duke of Bed-

ford ; weakness could not astonish a people who had seen the duke of Northumberland ; and a despicable character ceased to be a novelty, for we have not forgotten lord Hertford : but there remained one innovation in politics, which we had no conception ; of a man who had all the defects of these great personages without the allay of their virtues ; who was rash, weak, and contemptible, but was not intrepid, splendid, or decent ; a man who had not spirit to assert government, and yet was audacious enough to violate the constitution ; whose manners were ludicrous, whose person was despised, whose disposition was vehemence without firmness, and whose conduct was not steady oppression, but rather the tremour of tyranny ; such a man could not have been foreseen ; but at length the miracle was produced, and this phenomenon at the Castle appeared in your lordship.

I WILL suppose the time arrived, when you have departed this kingdom ; I will suppose that you have escaped the scoffs, hisses, insults, reproaches, and the thousand other indignities that are probably prepared for your reception ; and that your midnight expedition has been successful. I will suppose, also, that you are honoured with an audience, and address the ear of your sovereign in the following manner.

“ THE people of Ireland are inclined to opposition ; you must check this contagion of British spirit ;

spirit; their patriotism is faction, and their public spirit an outrage on majesty, in the person of his representative; no viceroy, for no king can please them; you must suppress this restless and seditious people; you must overawe this aspiring spirit into an unscrupulous compliance; and by a steady arrogance, you must maintain in that kingdom the dignity of government, and the rights of the crown of Great Britain."

HAVING surmised what your Excellency will say to your king, I shall now suggest to you what you ought to say.

"PARDON me, my liege, for I have disgraced my station; I have sported with your royal commission, and have misrepresented your sacred person. There was neither wisdom in my counsel, nor dignity in my manner, nor uniformity in my conduct; my lenity was a suspense between my fears and disposition; and my violence was an outrage, not a victory. I was the slave of your minister, not the servant of my sovereign; infamously obsequious, indecently familiar. In me, the royal character has sunk into contempt, and the feelings of the heart have degenerated into folly. I have exasperated the loyalty of your best subjects, and have extended to Ireland the fatality of your ministers. Let me, for once, surprize your royal ear with the voice of truth, and let the penitence of a political reprobate extenuate his iniquities.—

Your subjects of Ireland are neither servile nor seditious ; your ministry cannot detach them from your family, and neglect has not chilled the glow of their loyalty ; with a desperate liberality they have contributed to your auspicious house, and have strained with pride under the illustrious incumbrance, rejoicing that their sovereign did not disdain their offering, and that he dignified their poverty by his royal condescension.

“ It is on account of this loyalty they resent their injuries, with an honest indignation ; and the severest of all injuries is,—the men who have been sent to govern : these viceroys have destroyed this kingdom : you sent them to govern ; they went to plunder, and transported legions of hunger to that devoted territory. Unhappy kingdom ! it has felt government in the vices of its governors, not in the protection of its king ; it has been appropriated for a series of years to the bad qualities of the worst of the nobility, and has languished under the distracting vicissitudes of shifting plunderers ; the headstrong prostitution of Bedford ; the mean ostentation of Northumberland ; the black auspices of Hertford ; the momentary harpies in Bristol and Weymouth ; and now the wayward Townshend : the last, and hardly the worst of these national calamities.

“ We have disqualified the Irishman, because he was not an alien, and we have laid his country under

under contribution, for the support and encouragement of pensioned villany. Accordingly, polluted with the imprecations of an unhappy and an expiring people, we have returned to our monarch from the sport of desolation, to abuse the ear of the best of kings, and belie the allegiance of a faithful people.

“ BUT there is no grievance which has lain so heavy at their heart, no misrepresentation they esteem so fatal, as a late protest against their right, and the false arguments, by which this protest is suggested. They lament, that privilege has been called an invasion of prerogative; and that the submission of parliament has been declared the undoubted right of the crown. They conceive that their parliament, by assigning its reasons, does not invade that constitution which the protest supposes; and they conceive that this protest supposes a wrong constitution. They know they did once possess an English constitution, and that such a one appropriates to the commons an exclusive money bill; they thought that Poyning's law did not express a money bill, and that, construction was no more to avail against privilege, than against prerogative. Explication cannot abridge the rights of the crown; and with all humility they presume that explication as little can abridge the rights of the people. They know how fatal may be a breach of a constitutional maxim, and fear if it is not sacred in fa-

your

vour of parliament, it may not be inviolable in the instance of majesty. Their resolution, they imagine, does not come under the former opinion of the judges ; or if it did, the wisdom of judges has not always been infallible, nor the integrity of judges always invincible ; or if they are to submit their constitution to any authority, it is to the authority of an English Parliament, who think that the English constitution (Poynings law has not taken that) is essentially destroyed by dividing this exclusive right of the commons ; they did not think that privileges, so constitutionally exerted, and always exerted in your favour, could be very alarming ; and they hope the demands of the Council on the commons will not be more acceptable to their sovereign, than the spontaneous offering of a free people, too well affected to invade your prerogative ; they imagine, their patriotism so chastised by allegiance, cannot offend their gracious sovereign, or endanger the rights of the crown of Great Britain.

“ THIS kingdom extends no faction, entertains no jealousy ; she will ever preserve her attachment, even under the present administration will she preserve it ; but she expects protection likewise ; and requests her loyalty may not be made an effort.

ANONYMOUS.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VIS-
COUNT TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Feb. 24, 1770.

YOUR ancestors were lovers of liberty. You entered the world with a respectable paternal name. It was worth your while to take care that it should descend unimpaired to posterity.

You have had the misfortune to have many enemies, or many faults ; for you have been much censured. If you ask me how could such a man, as the persons, whom you call your enemies, describe, be appointed to the lieutenancy of Ireland, I will not answer with them, that you were appointed by an administration, the only uniform object of which has been to injure or insult every part of the British dominions ; that no other man would trust them, or that they would not have trusted you ; that they knew you to be as pliant, as incapable ; and that you would pledge yourself to the public without a blush, for what you knew would never be performed. These are great considerations.—

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But something more was necessary. You had a brother: a prodigy of parts! In other particulars you may have resembled him. They would not make him the minister in England, and therefore they made you a viceroy here.

You began your reign by a public falsehood, and promised, in the speech from the throne, a law for establishing the independence of judges. A bill with such a title came indeed from Great Britain; but in such a form, that not one man was found so profligate as to defend it. Your hirelings have not insinuated that this was any species of performance; and therefore I will not prove that it was an aggravated breach of faith. You gave us however what you did not promise; the Octennial Bill. Notwithstanding this accidental difference, there was a perfect similitude in your sentiments with respect to these two laws; for you intended to give neither. As your inclination was the same, so your wisdom with respect to them was equal. You had the reproach of nonperformance as to the one, without the honour of performance as to the other; and you tacked a dissolution of parliament to the Octennial-bill, to assist you in carrying the Augmentation. Do not complain that you are charged with the insertion of the clause concerning the dissolution. You must submit to be responsible for every measure respecting this country, whilst you submit to govern it. Such however was the easiness of parliament, that this promise which was
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not performed, and this performance which was not intended, though they could not clothe your administration with success, protected it for one session from indignity.

YOUR government had but one object ; the Augmentation of the army. I shall not enter into the merits of that measure, for I fear I should differ with too great an authority. Your professional partialities too shall be indulged. But let me question your discretion. You proposed the measure in your first session of parliament ; but not till you had alienated the persons, by whom you might have been sure to have carried it. A contest arose between English government, and an Irish confederacy ; and you made the Augmentation the ground on which they fought. Let us compare the state of these respective parties at that time, and at present ; and see how far your ability has encreased, or your insufficiency has diminished, the strength of government.

You contended the first session at an unlucky juncture. An augmentation of the army after the committee of Supply was closed, which was necessary to provide for an additional expence ;—in a time of profound peace, when troops are the least requisite ;—soon after a barbarous use had been made of the military in England, and an unconstitutional one in America ;—when the faith of government with respect to the judges bill had not
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been maintained ;—and just upon the verge of a general election. This in point of time and circumstance, I say, independent even of the measure, was unfavourable ground. And on this ground and in favour of such a measure, with what an host had you to contend? With the extended connexion, the revenue influence, and the popular manners of one leader ; with the compact force and the hereditary firmness of another ; with the first title, the first name, and the first fortune of the nation, in a third ;—supported by the esteem of the kingdom, by the popularity of the capital, by the parliamentary influence of a reputable phalanx, and by the calm inflexibility of his own determination. You had the craft of Tisdall, and the rhetoric of Hutchinson to oppose you. And besides the reconciliated force of these formerly hostile connexions, and formerly hostile advocates, you had to cope with the strength and reputation of an independant body, armed with the experience, the genius, the weight and the popularity of their leaders. Government stood alone. Unsupported indeed ; but as yet not prostrated by you ; and government alone was beat only by four.—Thus stood the force of government at the end of your first session of parliament. How did it stand at the conclusion of the last ?

You remained here for two years to lay siege to opposition. You made two summer progresses, but without advantage. I will not describe these excursions

curfions circumftantially. Not only the page of hiftory, but the newspaper of the day, would be difgraced by a detail of irregularities, as mean as capricious. You negociated with the powerful, as if they were insignificant ; and with the honourable, as if they were like yourfelf. You treated with every man in the fame tone. No wonder you treated in vain. In two inftances, you feemed to fucceed. The old leaders of debate on the fide of the court were feen again at the head of your troops ; and the rusty buckler of Tifdall, and the fcoured fhield of Hutchinson, were again held up in your defence. The wife however gave you no credit for this event. They did not allow you to have converted thofe, who were never of a different perfuafion. One grew confcious that he was too old to oppofe ; and the other, that he was too notorious to oppofe with effect. As a foldier, you fhould have punifhed their former defection. As a ftatefman, you fhould have prevented it.

WHAT was the end of all your preparations ? From the beginning of the winter to the day on which you prorogued the parliament, fo commendably, in every material queftion, almoft, you were defeated. After having had the power of the crown in your hands for two years, you were beat, on a critical motion, in the very laft week of the laft feflion, by a majority, eight or nine times as great as that by which you had been beaten in the former feflion of parliament. An acceffion of weaknefs,
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my lord, which furnishes a proof of your talents for government; and shews that your ability is equal to your reputation. Neither does it apply solely to the establishment of your character as a negociator. Without this example, who could have thought that your northern star would have left you so benighted?

I WILL not enumerate your miscarriages, nor describe the wounds they have given to government. I will speak of that measure, in which alone you were successful, the Augmentation I mean; and if you were deficient there, what shall we say of your defeats? Management is sometimes commendable, because it is sometimes necessary. You should have remembered, my lord, that when Majesty capitulates, it is scarcely Majesty. You should not therefore have exposed your sovereign to the unkingly necessity of hearing conditions from his people. The excesses of the staff, and of absentee pensions, might have been corrected by a spontaneous, not by a stipulated reduction. If his Majesty were to descend too from his throne, and to relinquish a part of his prerogative in the disposition of his troops, it ought not to have been done palpably to make terms, and to article for the Augmentation. By our laws, the honour of a peer is equivalent to the most sacred obligation; and by at least equal reason, so is that of the king. You suggested a doubt of its sufficiency. And by the proffer of your secretary, this sacred obligation of your
royal

royal master was recited in the bill of supply, that his Majesty in assenting to that law might give a bond for the performance of his honour; and register the mortgage of his word in the rolls of parliament. What atonement can you make to your degraded sovereign? A confession of folly will not be sufficient. There are stations in which incapacity is criminal. You should have explored your head and your heart, before you hazarded the dignity of the crown on either. If you are not too worthless to have a friend, and too despicable to have an enemy, you might have found one, from whose kindness or from whose censure you might have extracted counsel. Unhappy man! And is this what you call success? Is this the boast and triumph of your administration?

I HAVE spoken of that circumstance of your government in which you exult. The rest of it, and particularly the last act, which even you do not pretend to justify, I will reserve for a future and distinct consideration. But that we may be the less surprized, I will touch, in the mean time, on some other passages of your life.—You never affected public spirit but once, and then you pretended to patronize the militia bill in England. I am not going to charge you with tergiversation, my lord, nor to urge in support of that charge, that the ridicule of that law is now the favourite topic of your convivial moments. No, my lord, you are not an apostate. Some men are too dull for madness, and some too profligate for inconsistency.

You

You never supported the militia bill in truth. You only opposed the duke of Cumberland.

THERE is sometimes a curiosity of caprice and absurdity, which it is pleasant to observe. You went into the army. I will not say, that it was the charm of order that caught you, or the regularity of military discipline that was conformable to your disposition. You chose it as a path of advancement. By the influence of your friends you were placed about the person of that great prince, whom I have just mentioned. He was revered by the public. He will be characterized to latest posterity as an hero. He was caricatured once; and it was by your lordship. What tempted you to this extravagance? Was it that no contradiction might be wanting to your character? That, a soldier, you should insult your commander? That, a slave to power, you should affront the favourite son of your monarch? That, in his service, and of his household, you should do, what a generous and sober enemy would not attempt? Yet let me attribute it to the best motive. Let me ascribe it only to the operation of levity. Implacability is not the characteristic of your mind. Let me rather celebrate *the forgiveness* of your temper; and instance, that colonel Luttrell has only been referred to the parliamentary correction of a political bravo, like himself; whilst you spared his father, whom you had called to an unequal combat. But though I mention that moderation which your professional

professional prejudices could not overcome, I must mention that rashness which higher considerations did not restrain. Why did you forget the monarch you represent? In the dwelling of the supreme magistrate of the metropolis, at a public meeting, dedicated to peace, why did you launch the thunder of a reverfionary challenge at a venerable member of parliament, decrepit with infirmity? The dullness and fervility of aldermen cried shame upon you.

FROM the impartial observer let me become a monitor, my lord; and above all things let me warn you against the avarice of fame. Nothing is so dangerous. I will make an error of your own my example. In your mind, I am told, it is your glory to have served at Quebec. Take care that it may not be your shame. You were third in command under the great Wolfe. You saw the military hope of the British nation expire. A great man might have envied him his death. A fiend only could have envied him his glory. I appeal to your lordship, for in this you must be my testimony, as well as my theme. You saw him struggling, according to his own expression, with a choice of difficulties. You saw him bending under a complicated and encreasing infirmity. He had a noble heart, a wise head, and a performing hand. In such circumstances, and by such qualifications when you saw him become the idol of a fond nation, and of an applauding army; when
you

you saw him smiling in death, because it was accompanied by his country's victory; with what passion were you inspired? Did the nobleness of emulation seize you? like Themistocles, did the triumphs of Miltiades deprive you of repose? Or, like Cæsar, did you weep over the tomb of Alexander? No. If you went to his grave, you went not to offer the applause of surviving Heroism to the illustrious dead; but to supplant his monument, and defraud him of his fame.* How did the people of England feel, the untutored people? His death filled his country with lamentation. After a considerable interval, the remains of that great man landed in Great Britain. No honour, which the living can pay to the deceased, was omitted. As if victory still followed him, the news of fresh conquest soon succeeded. Every part of the kingdom resounded with congratulation, except one. The region adjacent to the residence of the venerable matron who had given him birth, was silent. An universal sentiment of heroic compassion struck the people. They stifled even

* I thought it unnecessary to mention that you usurped the province of your brother commander who survived, as well as the fame of the departed; and with an ignorant, or arrogating hand, signed the capitulation, which ought to have been subscribed and ratified by the signature of the second in command. If it were absurdity, we are used to overlook it in your lordship; and if it were intentional, an injury to the living is more easily forgiven, than inhumanity to the dead.

even public joy, and would not suffer a sound of triumph to invade the solemnity of her just grief. Thus did that undistinguishing multitude; whom you affect to despise, mark their veneration for their departed hero; whilst you, my lord, a brother soldier, and connected with him in command, had the justice and generosity to endeavour to defame him.

SINDERCOMBE.

L E T T E R XIII.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD VISCOUNT
TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

March 3. 1770

WITHOUT being a Petronious, I flatter myself, that I might add to the elegance of your pleasures. Your festivity has sometimes been suspected of disorder, and your recreations of indelicacy. You have something therefore in this particular to retrieve; and if you have raised any expectation by the advertisement of a fancied ball, you have that expectation also to satisfy. My principles will not suffer me to defend your government; but I have no animosity to prevent me from contributing to your amusements.

THE

THE ladies and gentlemen who performed in a late elegant entertainment* the Park, distinguished you, I am told, by a particular invitation, and exempted you from the Dramatis Personæ. This was meant as a compliment, no doubt, though perhaps it was injurious to your lordship. For every body allows, if you would condescend to appear in the farce, that you could have acted one part perfectly, without departing from your usual sobriety. This however was in another person's house, and such an exemption might there have been accepted by you, without the imputation of arrogance or rusticity. But in your own house you are too polite, I am confident, not to conform to the regulation, to which you have subjected your company. Neither do I suppose that you would wish, on all occasions, to be merely a spectator of the follies of this country. Notwithstanding therefore the weight of public care, under which you sometimes find it difficult to stand, you must be a little solicitous about the dress in which you are to appear that evening; and as, in the figurative stile of your court, you have *postponed* your ball to a shorter day, I wish, in this hurry, to assist your imagination.

THERE are characters you will avoid. You will not appear like Mars, notwithstanding your achievements.

* The play of Tamerlane, performed at the house of Luke Gardiner, Esq; in the Phoenix Park near Dublin.

chievements. I would not have you appear like any deity. Nor, though Comus be one of your ministers, would I have you exhibit in a Circæan disguise. The middle path of the human shape will be safest; and omitting the antiquated heroics of Greece and Rome, I would recommend to your lordship the character of a mere modern. Nay I would carry the peculiarity, and (forgive me) the patriotism of the entertainment to the greatest height in your own person; and as the dresses of all your company are to be of Irish manufacture, I would have both your dress and your character Irish. You do not intend to appear as our tutelary saint, or, in appointing your day, you would not have avoided the seventeenth of March. That however will be a day of jollity without any particular industry; and perhaps, like Titus, you did not care to lose a day. Upon what principle will you adopt your character? On the principle of contrast, or on that of resemblance? Will you be a Swift, or an Usher?—A Nangle or, a Loane? In the one case, the Prime Serjeant may accompany you in the character of a patriot, and your friend Andrews may be dressed as Provost of Trinity College. In the other, your new labourer in the vineyard, Mr. Scott, may officiate as high priest to the temple of Hadlock, and the bishop of Corke may point to the altar with a fair communicant in his hand.

F

THU:

THUS, my lord, have I endeavoured to aid your fancy; concluding that this is not a ministerial measure, but a matter of amusement. For whatever your enemies may say, I cannot think that even you are so infatuated as to imagine, that the injuries of a nation are to be expiated by a dance; or the clamours of an exasperated people to be silenced by the ludicrous buff of grotesque preparations for a fantastic meeting.

SINDERCOMBE.

L E T T E R XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

March 3, 1770.

I SEND you inclosed a summary of political faith, which the Prime Serjeant assures me is *as clear as the day-light*; it is indeed so entirely conformable to the sentiments which I have heard him deliver in the House of Commons, on a question of *perhaps as great importance as ever was agitated in that great assembly*, that no one, I think, who knows the candour and sincerity of that gentleman, can any longer have any doubts on this hitherto mysterious subject.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,
ATHANASIUS SECUNDUS.

THE

THE COURTIER'S CREED FOR THE YEAR 1770.

1. WHOSOEVER would be an HIBERNIAN COURTIER, it is now necessary, before all mental endowments, that he expound rightly the law of Poynings, as explained by the fourth and fifth chapters of Philip and Mary.

2. WHICH interpretation, unless he keeps pure and unmixed with any rational interpretation, unquestionably he cannot enjoy place, or pension, neither shall he receive concordatum in this kingdom.

3. Now the true construction of Poynings' law is, that four different branches of the legislature are always to be acknowledged in one Irish Privy Council constantly subsisting.

4. FOR in the enacting of every law, the King hath a deliberative voice, the Lords have a deliberative, the commons have a deliberative, and the Privy Council have a deliberative.

5. THE King hath a negative voice, the Lords a negative, the Commons a negative, and the Council a negative.

6. AND yet there are not four deliberatives, or four negatives, but one deliberative, and one negative, frequently exercised against King, Lords,

and Commons, by his majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

7. FURTHER it is essential to the preservation of his present place, and to his future hopes of preferment, that he conceive just ideas of the origination of money-bills.

8. His *interest* then will ever oblige him to confess, that all benevolences, or FREE GIFTS from the people, constitutionally take their rise in an assembly, neither made or created by, or proceeding from the people.

9. THIS is the HIBERNIAN COURTIER's political faith, which, whosoever inviolably adheres to, shall be rewarded with a masked pension for himself, and a fancied ball, without masks, for his wife and daughters.

10. AND for all those who reject the foregoing liberal explanation, there shall be protests, prorogations, partial sheriffs, packed juries, and influenced electors, even unto their lives end.

11. As it was in the arbitrary reign of the house of Stewart, so it shall continue, whilst venality and dissipation prove useful engines in the hands of a corrupt administration.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

TO SINDERCOMBE.

SIR,

March 6, 1770.

I HAD some satisfaction in reading your letter,—not that I admit the authenticity of your facts, or admire the force of your arguments, nor that I think the public will be better enabled to judge of the measures of government by the communication of your sentiments, or that the Lord Lieutenant will be reformed by the severity of your animadversions; but, as a well wisher to the person and administration of his Excellency, I am pleased to find, that a writer of no despicable talents is obliged to resort, for the materials of invective, to the stale refuse of news-paper anecdotes, and the exploded calumnies of vulgar detraction. You have collected the remnants of both with a malicious industry, and tricked them out in all the tinsel of antithesis, and the second-hand frippery of imitated periods. You have kept a reverend eye upon that great Homer of defamation, Junius; and like your master, have created a monster of your own imagination, in order to shew how ingeniously you can rail at it.

THERE is something very inconsistent in the advice with which you begin your letter!—that Lord Townshend should think it *worth his while* (your own elegant expression) to deliver down unimpaired to posterity, a name distinguished by the virtue of his ancestors, when, at the same time, you do every thing to prevent the benefit of your own admonition; at once throwing dirt upon his reputation, and warning him to take care it may not be sullied.

A WRITER, whose principal aim, like yours, is to rail, must trace up every political event to a corrupted source.—Accordingly in rejecting some pretended causes of Lord Townshend's appointment, your very candour is no less malicious than your sagacity, in fixing upon that which appears to you to be the true one. The interest of families is generally the same, and a great station obtained by the joint reputation of brothers, is seldom held upon ignominious conditions, or used for unworthy purposes.

FULL of the best intentions towards the country he was to govern, he opened his first session with the promise of a law to secure the independence of Judges; and why that promise was not fulfilled in its utmost extent, must be asked, not on this side of the water, but perhaps of a quondam minister, whose jesuitical politics seldom had any higher view, than to secure his own department from encroachments,

croachments, by impeding the business, and diminishing the credit, of every other. The public however have little to regret, as no inconvenience has been known to result from this disappointment; and the attainment of ten such laws, to secure what was never invaded, could not be considered as equivalent to that, which was never expected, though so often demanded, the limitation of parliaments.

It is difficult to determine upon what authority you so confidently assert, that his Excellency never intended, that is, never wished to give either. Is it the shrewdness of your own conjecture? or has it been suggested to you by that gentleman of popular manners, whom you represent so honourably, contending against government in its own armour, and with its own weapons, at the head of his revenue legion of collectors, surveyors, waiters, searchers, packers and gaugers? He indeed might have told you, that as to himself he never wished success to the limitation bill,—notwithstanding his pretended zeal for it; that he had found more than one Chief Governor, on whose sympathy he could repose the insincerity of his bosom; and knowing little more than the station of Lord Townshend, concluded, that would operate as it had done before, for the gratification of his private views, which were generally inconsistent with his public declarations.—Were these authorities however more powerful, the stubborn fact would

not bend before them. We have the law, and the people have paid the honest tribute of their gratitude to him who disdained an underhand stipulation to obstruct it; whose name will appear with unrivalled lustre in the records of parliament, and whose memory will be revered, while there is any sense of independence, or any abhorrence of oppression, in the yeomanry of Ireland.

You next tell us, that the success of the *augmentation* was the principal object of the present administration; and you impute the miscarriage to his want of management, though you enumerate a catalogue of difficulties, which made success almost impossible. Thus hurried along by a rage to criminate, you either confound the charge with the justification, or (which is more likely) you suppose the incautious reader may do it for you.

SOME circumstances unfavourable to the measure he could not foresee, and others from a regard to his own dignity he could not wish to prevent. Of the first sort were, the closing of the committee of supply (which could not be kept open until the enabling act, previously necessary for the augmentation of the Forces, was passed by the legislature of England) and the clamours raised against the army there and in America, for interposing, at the desire of the magistracy in both countries, to suppress riots and restore order, for which no civil authority was found sufficient. Of the second was, the clause of
dissolution

dissolution in the limitation bill, agreeable to the true spirit of the law, as such, the object of the people's wish, and therefore entiled to the countenance of government.—— But the great difficulty, and the great offence of all, remains to be accounted for;—the alienation of parties. The public have long known this was the real cause of opposition; but, until you appeared, no one was found hardy enough to impute it as the crime of administration. To see the business of the nation conducted without the venal concurrence of a rapacious confederacy, had long been the wish and the despair of the people. Those who revered the dignity of the crown were sorry to find it degraded by the supineness or timidity of its representatives. Too many administrations had been distinguished by events of no greater importance than new accessions of influence to connexions already overgrown, and the shameful barter of the favours of government, to secure the repose, or to gratify the avarice of the Governor. No wonder then, when a new spirit of activity and disinterestedness appeared at the Castle, that new maxims should be adopted, and new pretences held out, by the disappointed brokers in parliamentary traffic: without changing their principles, they suddenly changed their conduct, and united all their strength to harass him, whom they could neither seduce, nor intimidate. The well disciplined cohorts of Leinster and Shannon fell into the ranks at the first tap of the drum; and the motly bands of Ponsonby

were cajoled and menaced into obedience. A body of independent Irregulars joined the standard, not the cause, of opposition, and after disputing every inch of the ground, victory was decided in their favour by an inconsiderable superiority. It required no small degree of spirit to look this formidable alliance in the face, and nothing but the greatest circumspection could have prevented its being stronger.

So far your capital objection to him as a statesman is without foundation ; yet admitting, as I do, that the success of the augmentation was his principal object, I should be at a loss how to defend his sufficiency, had he again been baffled. But to the confusion of your own argument, you are obliged to acknowledge, that in this measure he has succeeded ; and let the voice of truth tell you how ;—with such peculiar felicity, as to give at once new vigour to the crown, and new security to the people ; to unite in its support the real patriot by his principle, and the false one by his pretence ; to leave even jealousy without a fear, and ingenuity without one colourable objection. But it seems you are as much offended with the new modification of the measure, and the terms upon which it was obtained in the second session, as with its not having been obtained at all in the former. You are hurt to see Majesty descending from the throne, and capitulating with the people. I have never understood that an amicable agreement between the King and the subject,

ject, for the mutual benefit of both, has been ever considered as a degradation of royalty. The crown has often made exchanges of a similar nature, surrendering prerogative for revenue ; and some of the greatest improvements of the constitution have arisen from such a commerce. Had his Majesty, or his representative, meanly stipulated with individuals for the support of his measures, and, according to what seems to be the greatest mystery of your politics, promised or bribed them into compliance, the King might then indeed be said to have descended from his throne, and to have prostituted the royal dignity.——Your prosecution against him as a statesman being closed, you proceed to arraign him as a senator, and soldier. An impartial account of his conduct in both these relations would be his best panegyric, and your fullest refutation. His ample fortune and splendid expectations, his voluntary engagement in an unlucreative and perilous profession, the whole tenour of his conduct in that profession, the spirit with which he relinquished, and with which he resumed it, the testimony of the generals he served under, and of the armies he commanded, have all contributed to set a seal upon his character, and are such memorials to his honour, as the most ingenious malice will never be able to efface.

You are grossly ignorant of, or you grossly misrepresent, the motives of his parliamentary conduct.

He

He patronized the militia bill, and the duke of Cumberland was no friend to it. This was the cause of their misunderstanding. He preferred the duty he owed his country to every other consideration, and discharged it faithfully, though the temporary disappointment of his military ambition, and the frowns of a prince, were to be the forfeit. When that prince discountenanced a measure so congenial to the English constitution, he opposed Mr. Townshend, not Mr. Townshend him. As to the rest, I will not disturb the little triumph of your fancy, but rather thank you for that play of words, which having led you from things to sounds, has spared me the trouble of an answer to an accusation too frivolous to deserve one.

THERE remain but two particulars more to be noticed, and I shall then follow you to a conclusion. Lord Townshend's correction of Colonel Luttrell, by a political bravo, is no less false than his launching the thunder of a reversionary challenge at Dr. Lucas. The mentioning Colonel Luttrell's name in the House of Commons, was merely accidental; and from the circumstances of the time, and the occasion could not possibly have happened from suggestion or pre-concert. It is in vain to refer you to all the members of the House who were present, for you knew the falsehood before you published it. As to the venerable infirm member, his own petulance drew upon him a reprimand, which
his

his vanity chose to interpret into a challenge ; yet Lord Townshend's words bore no such meaning, nor were so considered by any person present.

At your conclusion you labour hard in the affected strains of ungenue pathetic, to give a mournful description of deceased merit, at the expence of the living ; and your impotence seems to encrease in proportion to your efforts. *Disease and Death*, triumphs and lamentations, funeral obsequies, a venerable matron, fiends and heroes, Greeks and Romans, graves and monuments, are all grouped in the gloomy picture.

WHILE the yet-undecided fate of Canada and the British army were depending, the general who succeeded to the command, had no leisure to cull such flowers of rhetoric to deck the grave of the departed conqueror : but being himself a soldier, he paid a more judicious tribute to the merit of his colleague, by publicly testifying that his intrepidity and skilful operations had ensured the victory.

I must spend a few words more to detect another calumny, which has basely retired from your text into an humble note, where you accuse him of usurping general Monckton's province, and ignorantly or arrogantly signing the capitulation. Before the death of General Wolfe, General Monckton was carried on board a ship in the
river

river, wounded, as it was thought, mortally ; and the command devolving upon Lord Townshend, it was his duty and his province to sign the capitulation.

HAVING now done with your letter, allow me to say a word or two to your person, and to guess at your character, by the marks of it in your composition.

YOU are not the friend of the community in general, for you wish to see all power engrossed by a few individuals. You are not the friend of Irish liberty, or of English government ; for when you wish the force of the prerogative may be relaxed, you wish it at the hazard of the people's affections, and at the expence of the constitution of Ireland. Having told you what you are not, let me now tell you what you are.

YOU are the friend of successful corruption, and an enemy to Lord Townshend, because he does not practise the art of corrupting. You are the admirer and humble imitator of Junius, and a fellow labourer in the great cause of sedition : the signature you have chosen, is perhaps expressive of your disposition ; take care that it may not be an omen of your catastrophe ; since you would leave behind you, at best, but an ambiguous reputation, to be resolved by your friends into an assassin, and by your enemies into a suicide.

BROGHILL.

L E T T E R XVI.

TO BROGHILL, WITH AN ADDRESS TO THE
PUBLIC.

April 3, 1770.

BY accident I did not see your letter till I found it incorporated with my own in one publication; and dispersed together with it by some friend, no doubt, to Lord Townshend.— Were it not for some things that have happened since, and which make it necessary for me to trouble the public further, I should have been silent.— But before I go to new matter, I wish to answer you on the old.

WHEN you allow me to be a writer of no defpicable talents, I am sensible of the compliment; and though you criticise my diction, I am ready to confess that the style of your defence, is superior to the subject, as well as to the matter of it.— Were you infallible even in language, I should not be inconsolable under your strictures; and your charges of inelegance have lost of their weight, since you speak of my *throwing dirt* on Lord Townshend's reputation; and of my being *hurt* to see
Majesty

Majesty descending from the throne. My style, whatever it may be, is however my own. Neither can I believe, if you thought me but a copyist, that you would have followed me so closely, as to emulate, it should seem, even the number of my lines. In this particular I fear we are both exceptionable; our performances are long. I have some apology however. Mine is a copious theme; a topic not easy to dispatch, and impossible to be exhausted;—the reproach of Lord Townshend.

How have you defended him? You tell me that I have said nothing which was not published before. To what do you ascribe the staleness of my invective? Not to dulness, for you allow me ingenuity. Not to candour, or a reluctance to invent, for you charge me with the most active and licentious malevolence. You must then attribute it to that sagacity of malice which you impute to me; and which saw, that the task of invention, though easy, was unnecessary. That character is unhappy, with respect to which, the only difficulty is to give novelty to censure, and those charges are but ill refuted, to which the objection is their notoriety.

You say that my advice to Lord Townshend, to consult the reputation of his name, and the liberties I have taken with his character, are inconsistent. Were you so inattentive or so inaccurate, as not to see that I intended not admonition, in that sentence, but reproof; that I did not say it is but that
it

it *was* worth his while to consult it; that I spoke of his ancestor's reputation, not of *his*; and that it was not an absurd advice to repair what is irretrievable, but a gentle intimation of the irrecoverable evil of his early, and confirmed degeneracy. He is obliged to you for requiring me to be more explicit in my terms.

THE promise of the Judges' bill you cannot deny. Neither can you deny the non-performance of it. You are conscious of the infamy of that transaction, and you only endeavour to transfer it to the Earl of Shelburne. If the Earl of Shelburne, because he was then Secretary of State in Great Britain for the Irish department, is to be censured for the failure of that law, he ought to be applauded for the attainment of the Octennial bill. The man, who is responsible enough to be blamed, is responsible enough to be commended. — But we consider our chief Governor as responsible to us. It is his duty never to promote, or to suffer, any thing that is improper, with respect to this country. He ought not to advise any such thing; and he need not suffer it; for he may resign. On Lord Townshend therefore we call for the miscarriage of that bill, as a breach of his honour; and had he not made it impossible for us to be deceived, to him we should refer the success of the other. — But he was industrious to obviate such an error. — An industry which might have been ascribed to sincerity and frankness, were it not for the despicable

cable absurdity of the imposture which is now attempted. You throw upon Lord Shelburne the loss of that law which Lord Townshend promised, and assume to Lord Townshend the acquisition of that law, which he did not promise; which he never pretended at the time to expect or to patronize; and which, since its establishment, he has uniformly reviled and ridiculed: except in a speech from the throne, where he seems to think it is his prerogative to falsify.

You say, that in my rage to criminate, I enumerate difficulties, which, instead of aggravating, justify his failure with respect to the *augmentation* in his first attempt. What was my argument? That the existence of those difficulties at the time that he proposed that measure, was a proof of his folly. Could any indiscretion, but that of Lord Townshend, have created a common interest between so many discordant and contradictory parties? And if the alienation of every man of consequence in the kingdom were a matter of design, would any statesman but Lord Townshend have begun the execution of that design, till that great point had been first decided. I am no advocate for great men. I will suppose for a moment, that some of them may be as unprincipled as you wish.—What is the consequence? Only that you can ascribe their opposition to another cause than that of virtue. But if it was not owing to their virtue,

tue, it was owing to Lord Townshend's absurdity. He alienated the profligate, perhaps, by an unmeaning talk about principle; as he alienated the principled by a shameless avowal of profligacy. The very being of that unnatural league at that period, was the demonstration of his incapacity; and the smallness of their majority was the demonstration of the strength of government.—One shewed, what a powerful instrument he possessed; the other, to how little purpose he possessed it: and instead of contradicting each other, they conspired to his condemnation.

You allow that the augmentation was his principal object; and because it was carried, you insinuate that he was successful. But though this were his only object of pursuit, he ought to have remembered, that to be able to stand on the defensive at least, was a necessary part of his duty; instead of being defended however, I asserted, and you cannot deny, that government was attacked in his second session by an encreasing majority. I asserted also, and with equal truth, that even the augmentation was carried, so as to be a disgrace, and not an honour to him. The measure of the augmentation indeed was carried; but not Lord Townshend's measure. He subscribed in his impotence to the requisition of his opponents; and the measure, dictated and sustained by them, succeeded. The ignominy of the conditions I have already described; and I will spare

spare the blushes of my sovereign, where I cannot excite those of his representative.

THE infinite difference between Lord Townshend's measure, and that which succeeded, I need not mention; it is acknowledged. As originally proposed, the terms were injurious to the subject; as carried, they are dishonourable to the Crown. Your patron endeavoured first to over-reach the people, and in the end suffered the Crown to be degraded. Which will he relinquish? His candour in the first, or his fidelity or understanding, in the last transaction? The option is melancholy, and yet to give him the alternative is merciful. So sensible are you indeed of the principle of truck, or rather of capitulation, that disgraced that business, that you are obliged to avow, and therefore defend it. You say that the Crown has often made such exchanges, by surrendering prerogative for revenue. To the eternal disgrace of our monarchs, it is true that the people have sometimes been obliged to purchase their rights by subsidy; or to extort them by arms. But the reigns of weak or wicked kings are the season for such stipulations. A weak king only will alienate his own rights; and a wicked one only will encroach, so as to have it in his power to surrender those of his subjects. Take care how you slander your prince, to defend your patron. His being represented by that patron is sufficiently disgraceful.

You

You say, that an impartial account of his Excellency's conduct as a soldier and a senator, would be my fullest refutation. Why were you so brief in so material a part of your defence? Why have you not condescended to be circumstantial? Why have you *asserted* only, if you could have *proved*? That simple narrative which you mention, but avoid, would have been more effectual than all your flourishes, if it had been safe. In whatever else we differ, in this however we agree. I appeal for his character as a soldier, to the generals under whom he served, and to the armies which he commanded; and particularly to that army which he commanded under General Wolfe.—To that army I appeal, whether he knew the duty of obedience, or the dignity of command? whether if General Wolfe deserved commendation, his lordship must not have merited disgrace? and whether he did not thwart every measure of that great man whilst he lived, as well as endeavour to depreciate him in the grave?

LORD Townshend became an enemy to the Duke of Cumberland, you say, because his Royal Highness was not a friend to the militia; a species of persecution for opinion, of which I did not suspect his Excellency; especially towards the son of his monarch. The idea is so probable indeed, that I thank you for the suggestion of it. Why did you not also assert, that he did not perfidiously insult the person of his Royal Patron? The same attention

tention to credibility might have permitted you; and his Excellency has reason to complain, that you have not been uniform in his defence. As to the correction of Colonel Luttrell, let any man judge, whether a ministerial tool would have volunteered in the abuse of that gentleman and of the Middlesex election. I am glad, however, that by the mention of another fact, I have been instrumental to so authentic a declaration of the safety of one of our city representatives. I am confident his constituents were more solicitous for his person, than the venerable member was for himself. The challenge however was too notorious. But it is not a matter of surprize that it is retracted notwithstanding. Neither can the venerable member consider that retraction, as a particular compliment to him. General Fitzwilliam and the father of Colonel Luttrell will inform him, that it is not the first time that his Excellency has *reconsidered* a challenge—. To dwell upon his senatorial character would be a superfluity of malice. For his abilities, I appeal to every man who ever heard him *mutter* in the senate: and for his principles, to his spirited concurrence in the persecution of America, and of Mr. Wilkes; and particularly to his zealous support of general warrants, in spite of the eloquence, the example, and the entreaties of his unhappy brother. Let him deny this, if he can.

NOT

Nor content with defence, you enter into pænegyric. Some late occurrences make it essential, that the people of Ireland should not be misled at this crisis; and I promise they shall not. To them therefore I dedicate the remainder of this letter, which shall contain a detection of your misrepresentations, and of certain vulgar, and inconsiderate errors.

To whatever degradation his lordship may in other things have submitted, you maintain, that he scorned the degradation of stipulating with individuals. Where he or his advocates have found this idea, I know not. It has not been the system of his predecessors. Nor is it the system of his friends, the Ministry of England. It is as little founded in the facts of his administration too, as in the precedents I have mentioned.——Not to speak of his Excellency's first winter, no sooner was his present Secretary invested with his office, than he began the traffic. Lord Loftus, then a commoner, went to London. His door was besieged, night and morning, by the Secretary. Those terms (with something more) which have since overcome Mr. Beresford, were pressed on Lord Loftus, if he would forsake the Speaker. That nobleman had not then learned the immortality he would acquire by deserting at once his country and his friends. He answered like a man, that, occupied in the care, of 20,000*l.* a year, he had not leisure to attend an office under the crown. When the Secretary first
came

came to Ireland, I ask whether the speaker and his friends were not offered the most ample terms for an implicit support, by this pure administration? Was not the office of president of the council, proposed to be created, with an exorbitant salary, for the speaker himself, by this enemy to corruption? Were not considerable private terms offered to every great power, and certain individuals also, by this disdainer of stipulation with individuals? Neither is this pretence less improbable, than it is false. Would his Excellency himself have purchased the lieutenancy of Ireland, by resigning the English ordnance to General Conway, if he were averse to this species of traffic; or if it were not tolerated in the present reign? Consider his Lordship's character, and that of those by whom he is governed. The servile abettor of every unconstitutional measure, the tool of Bute and of every thing which wears the livery of Bute; the *practiser* of corruption in every period of his life, and at length the *missionary*, is nominally governor. A Weymouth, a Sandwich, a Rigby, a Northington, an Hertford, and an Holland, are his directors. Are these the men, who have forbidden him to stipulate with individuals? are these men averse to corruption? or are they the most conspicuous examples of venality in a venal age? How have the fraternity of the present administration, how have the gang of Bloomsbury obtained their offices? We will readily believe that they seldom have refused, but we cannot

not believe, that they never stipulated for places. We cannot so utterly discredit every profession of our sovereign, as to attribute their elevation merely to his choice. Or have the public been perpetually mistaken? and is it the mildness of Weymouth, the purity of Sandwich, the diffidence of Rigby, the disinterested and elegant spirit of Northington, the munificence of Hertford, and the popularity of Holland, that have recommended them to each other, as well as to a pious and a discerning prince? A pretence to principle, in such a viceroy, governed by such an administration, instead of being imputable to virtue, or even to the hypocrisy of clumsy vice, can be nothing but the insolent irony of a profligate and audacious venality—And, to speak of this kingdom, was it the austerity of Andrews, the patriotism of Hutchinson, or the consistency and wisdom of the Earl of Tirone, that has marked them out to his Excellency's favour? The world will not easily believe, that motives, such as these, induced his Excellency to promise a bishopric to the recommendation of a man, who is fitter to preside over a brothel than an university; or to be conducted by another, whose slippery prostitution has rendered even his infamy ridiculous. Nor will they believe, that the Earl of Tirone, after having violated every engagement, private and public, into which he ever entered, has been selected for his consistency and honour; or that his abilities have recommended

G

him

him, when they reflect, that the elder Brutus must have been a less dissembler than the Earl of Ti-rone has been from his earliest years, if his Lordship's incapacity be counterfeit. His Lordship will pardon this trait of his character in a piece where he is not the principal. He deserves, and may receive a full delineation.

WHEN Lord Townshend first landed, he threw himself into the arms of those men, whom his hirelings are now employed to vilify. If to suffer them to conduct the affairs of this country, be criminal, he is chargeable with that guilt; and if it be not, their removal is not worth a convulsion. Some time after, indeed, they differed. They say, they relinquished him on public ground; he says, that he disagreed with them on private. Their allegation is more constitutional than his; and they are equally positive. They, who know Lord Townshend, know how to estimate his assertion. But allow it to be true,—it was not their principles, but their demands, with which he was dissatisfied. Why then does he talk of their principles? let ~~them~~ have been ever so flagitious, he would only be the more to be condemned, who preferred such persons originally, and who never disagreed with them but upon private considerations. The demands of these gentlemen, true or false, have been stated to the public; and, as stated by their enemies,

enemies, are not very important. The Governor must have an high idea of the value of an office, or must form but a poor estimate of his own measures, and of public tranquillity, who would hazard either of the latter, for objects of no greater significance. And I will venture to prophesy, that the public, in the end, will lose by his adventure, even in a pecuniary consideration of the subject. But be this as it may, it was not principle, by which he was directed. He went to the market, and his only objection, is, not that it was a market, but that it was extravagant. Far from disdaining to stipulate, he condescended to *chaffer*, and to *peddle* in corruption. There was something besides œconomy too at bottom. He considered every placeman as a chattel of government. He thought, that they had been purchased before, and that they were not entitled to a second valuation. It is not a principle of virtue, but of venal despotism, by which this sentiment has been suggested. It is not the vice, but the power to stipulate which he dislikes.—He does not wish for that exalted integrity which disdains to bargain ; but for that impotent and mean prostitution, which must not *stipulate* but *submit*.

MEN, who opposed, not only his other measures, but even his favourite augmentation, are rewarded ; whilst Lord Shannon, Lord Lanesborough and the

Speaker, though they supported the augmentation, are punished. But they opposed in some other things, we are told; and they were in office.— Here is the principle. All men in office are to be taught, that their support must be indiscriminate. Corruption is so strong that it disdains any management. Placemen are openly treated as slaves, and are no longer to be led, but lashed, into obedience. It is not now the hope of advancement, but the terror of deprivation, that is to be employed. The corruption of a free state is over; and the corruption of servitude is what we are now to experience.

YET even this principle is not consistently pursued. And wherefore? Because, though this is the final object, there is another more immediate, to which a temporary sacrifice must be made. What is that? The destruction of every great man in this country. And how is this attempted? Government, like ancient Rome, has opened an asylum, into which all fugitives and betrayers are to be received. A Tisdall, and an Hutchinson, tho' they opposed, when bending under the weight of his Majesty's favours, are taken into grace, notwithstanding their demands, because they have deserted, Lord Loftus,—though personally rude to Lord Townshend, and though he opposed in office, not only where others opposed, but even where they did not—is solicited to accept of favours from Government, on the easy condition of betraying his family

family and his professions. All the friends of the leading men of this country are to remain in employment, notwithstanding their opposition, if they will forsake their connexions. The piety that encourages perfidy is suspicious. The purity that employs corruption, not only against every political, but every moral, principle, is unsound. Political profligacy has hitherto preserved one refuge; a pretence to domestic virtues, and particularly to gratitude and friendship. Our spirited Administration disdains any resource but that of abandoned numbers. The consequences of this tenet to ministers are of little importance. But that prince is unhappy, who makes the treachery of his servants the ground of his confidence. He forfeits all title to fidelity, where otherwise he might find it; and may live, like Lord Holland, to see the principles he inspired converted to his ruin. What is the end of these contradictions in punishments and rewards? To destroy all the leading interests of the kingdom; that is, all national weight and dignity. Power is the crime of the Speaker; power is the crime of Lord Shannon; and power is the crime of the Duke of Leinster.

THE shadow of influence, that is not dependant on the breath of the crown, is not to be endured. A plan of arbitrary power has been systematically pursued by the evil genius of these countries. The subservience of the British Parliament was considered as already secured. To enslave all

the dependencies, it was only necessary to establish the power of that parliament over those dependencies, This was accordingly attempted, and has never been relinquished.—Another thing was necessary to the safe execution of this design. Every considerable individual, and all the inherent strength of these countries, was to be broken. Look at England. Is not every man of superior wisdom, virtue and consequence, proscribed? Is not Administration a collection of the most impotent and irreputable men? Is it not the ambition of the court, to show, that the most despicable character can be created a minister; and that the consequence of the individual is not a channel to distinction, but the arbitrary favour of the crown? Is not this the principle of a despotic government? In a commonwealth, virtue is the only path to advancement; and in arbitrary constitutions, the humour of the prince. A manly emulation is the result of one, and a venal servility is the consequence of the other. In a mixed government, such as ours, there are many qualifications which should lead to promotion, as well as the favour of the Crown. If they do not, we cannot long be free. All the passions will be on the side of slavery, and the union of men's virtues will not be sufficient for the preservation of freedom, except a conflict can be maintained between their vices also. Unhappily we are come to the day of this trial. The furious spirit, which
impels

impels it, has made an attack upon every part of the British dominions at once, and seems to trust to universal consternation for universal victory. If the attack be general, so ought the defence. No man, who has understanding, can doubt of their intention. No man, who has a heart, can hesitate to resist it. See how England bleeds under this system already. See her, degraded at home, and abroad. See her constitution violated by ruffians with impunity. See the outcries of a mighty nation neglected, if not contemned. What then would become of such a country as this, if the first step of degradation were admitted?—We should sink in a moment into the vilest servility. To be governed by desperate adventurers amongst ourselves, might be our first, and would be our most splendid condition. But even that would be of short continuance. There was a time, and that not remote, when the natives of this country were excluded from office. Boulter's letters, and even the present state of our appointments, will shew, that though the law be repealed, the principle continues. Were the present design to prevail, not an atom of influence would be suffered to remain in the hands of a native. Let not men imagine that this is of no importance. The natives of a country may betray it; and the natives, even of greatest consequence, may sometimes have an interest contrary to that of their country. But not often: not perpetually, like an alien; nor easily, like an insignificant native. The employment of the most con-

siderable natives is therefore the best chance, which the community can have for good Administration; and, where certainty is unattainable, the better chance is always to be adopted. The system of these men is precisely the reverse. Judge from hence how honest it is in them to propose, and how wise it would be in you to accept it.

No man can be so simple as to suppose, that the present Ministry of England has been at the trouble to compose, or would be at the inconvenience to establish, a system, merely for the internal benefit of this country, and for the aggrandizement of our independent gentlemen. It is but of late that these gentlemen have become favourites at court, or that the leaders of parties have become the contrary. The affections of a politician are always a matter of speculation. His sudden reverses of affection are still more suspicious. And as the Ministers of England have not even the ground of a personal acquaintance for an attachment to these gentlemen, it must (if any thing) be their principles which have captivated them. The idea is too absurd to be dwelt upon. Far from it. It is their own pride and power that they consult; and not the power of the independent gentlemen of this country, nor the independence of this kingdom. The very reverse is their object. They may flatter independent gentlemen for the present; and corrupt such of them as they cannot deceive, that they may be no longer independent. But
when

when the point is carried, there will be an end of this courtesy. They will then be treated as the leaders of parties are now; and worse, in proportion to their comparative insignificance. They will be reviled by Government for the profligacy of having supported Government. This is the uniform practice of the present times. Is there a man in England of character and consequence, who has not been wheedled, and even *wept* into office, in order to be degraded? And what is the object of all this artifice and intrigue? To break the confidence of the people. To make them weary of their principal men, that, like the commonalty of Denmark, in a fit of desperate disgust, they may make the Monarch arbitrary. What is the preventive? Let the nation be wise and magnanimous enough to suffer their affairs to be conducted by those alone, in whom they can confide; and not to suffer any man to betray that confidence with impunity. And how is this to be done? By an unrelenting opposition to the men who betray them, and to the government which makes them traitors. But if the people are corrupt and pusillanimous enough to suffer men to be Ministers, who betray them to their faces, and who boast of their prostitution, they will find so many who will betray them, that they will lose all confidence. What follows? A profligate and pernicious indifference in the people to the public concerns, and to the men by whom they are conducted;

ed ; until at length they fall into the fatal and enormous absurdity of trusting any man, because they think that no man is to be trusted. When a nation is come to this, there is an end of every thing. It is not therefore a matter of indifference, but of the last importance, which is before you. You complained of an aristocracy, and you wished to destroy it. To what end ? That the power, which they seemed to monopolize, might be divided amongst yourselves. Your feeling was natural, and the scheme, though visionary in part, was in part practicable. Your enemies wish to destroy that aristocracy too ? But to what end ? Not to divide the power amongst you, but to monopolize it themselves. You agree in the means, but you differ diametrically in the end.—You thought that you yourselves had too little influence. They think the nation has too much. You seem only to coincide, where in reality you are opposed. Under this error, if you concur with them to a point, they will then desert you ; and without aggrandizing yourselves, you will degrade your country.

BECAUSE three men had the apparent pre-eminence, you erroneously imagined, that all the power of the aristocracy was limited to three. I speak only for your benefit, and therefore let me speak freely. The narrow spirit of envy was excited by this narrow consideration of the subject.
But

But you ought to have seen, that the power of each leader was only in proportion to the number of his adherents ; and that the number of his adherents was only in proportion to his opportunities of serving and obliging those adherents. What is the consequence ? The power of the head was employed in gratifying the members ; that is the power of the chief was the power of his partizans in effect. These partizans had their subordinate adherents, to whom they were in like manner obliged to transmit a portion of that light, which they derived from the principal luminary. And thus the power and profit of this system, tho' seemingly confined to three, descended, and was diffused to many. The system however was too narrow. I allow it. And the conduct of the undertakers was not unexceptionable. But this I say, that the evil was not capital as it stood ; and that at worst it was domestic, and the remedy in yourselves. Now if you had not sense or spirit to redress that grievance ; neither will you have sense or spirit to redress the grievance, which may follow from a change. But there is this difference. That you had it in your power to remedy the evil of the former system ; but that you will not have it in your power to remedy the evil of this system, if established. You thought, that the three chiefs could too easily unite against you, from the smallness of their number. You wished that number to be encreased to render such an union difficult.

But

But you ought to have considered, that there are other, more important, and less remediable dangers; that the circumstance, which will impede a *pernicious*, will obstruct a *beneficial* concert; and that power may be split amongst so many individuals, that it would be impossible to unite them against the most ruinous attack of the most wicked Administration that Great Britain shall ever produce, to be a scourge to her dependencies. You ought to have considered, that a British Minister may possibly assist you against your own aristocracy; but that he will never assist you against himself. That in the former system you had therefore an appeal; but that in this you will have none. You ought also to have seen, that the rein of that aristocracy was every hour relaxing. That the number of men of property, consequence and education among you, daily encreased; and that this being an infallible and easy remedy against the rigour of that form, a violent and uncertain remedy, to speak the best of it, ought to be rejected. Ireland is subordinate, says England, and England is the superior. We allow it. What form can be so proper, or so analogous to this mutual relation, as that the principal rule should belong to Great Britain, and that the subordinate Government should be left to Ireland? And was not this precisely the case, when a chief Governor came from Great Britain, and left deputies behind him when he went, who were natives of this country? This gave all due pre-eminence

eminence and authority to England, without stripping this kingdom of all national weight. The people of Great Britain are too just, and the monarch too upright, not to be contented with this. And if an arbitrary administration are not so; they deserve, not to be gratified, but opposed.

BANISH all narrow prejudices from your minds. Because few of you can be Justices, you think you are not concerned in the change. But if few of you can be Justices, fewer of you can be Viceroy. Even in this view therefore, you will be losers. But you are not now to determine, with respect to one another, whether this or that man shall have power; but whether the Kingdom shall have any. I do not contend for the name of Justices, but for the substance; that is, for national weight and dignity. In whatever form, this is maintained, I am content. But by the present system it must be destroyed. *Divide and govern*, is the adage of politics; and you will be broken by this system into a multitude of insignificant individuals, without a principal, or possibility of union, in whatever extremity. Again, and again, therefore, I warn you, that if you are instrumental to this change, you will be traitors to yourselves. It may smile upon some of you for a moment; but the public will soon see it in frowns; and feel it in its ruin. I have no interest in the matter, but that which I have in common with you all. But that is sufficient; and the counsel, which I have given, I would

would ratify with my blood. Remember your prosperity, or your ruin, as a nation, is at stake; and act accordingly.——The cause is great, and, do not trifle with it. Time is irreparable; do not lose it. To be undone, is miserable! and to be undone by these men, would be ignominious.

S I N D E R C O M B E.

L E T T E R X V I I .

T O T H E P R I N T E R O F T H E F R E E M A N ' S J O U R N A L .

S I R,

Jan. 12, 1771.

SINCE all our complicated miseries serve but as amusements to the authors of the public calamity, I should submit it to your judgment, whether we had not better change our plaintive tones to merry glees? Where neither a sense of the sufferings of the people, nor their groans, could stop the progress of tyranny, a sneer, a ballad, and the loud laugh, succeeded. The experiment is worth the trying. Let our tyrants think no longer, we moan or weep. Let us laugh them to scorn, and comfort ourselves with hopes, that when times and things are at the worst, they must mend.

M E A N.

MEAN while, help your readers to laugh and be merry, by giving them the following *new* song to an *old* tune.

Your's,

C O M U S.

A N E W S O N G.

Tune, CHEVY CHACE.

I.

GOD prosper long our noble King ;
Our Lords and Commons all :
A prorogation once there did
In College-green befall.

II.

To hunt the Commons out of doors,
Lord Townshend took his way ;
The bill may rue, that was unpast,
The hunting of that day.

III.

The stout Lieutenant made a vow,
That ere the morn did break,
No sturdy Commoners should have
Ne vote, ne speech to speak.

IV.

IV.

With five and forty light dragoons,
And forty troopers stout,
Through streets well lined on either side,
He took his rueful rout.

V.

Then did he, placed in the throne,
Strait for the Commons send,
And from his belt a paper pluckt,
Wherein his speech was penn'd.

VI.

He told the Commons, first of all,
To them he chiefly came,
To give them thanks and eke reproof,
All in his master's name.

VII.

That they rebelliously had said,
The King shan't get a souse,
Which had not had its origin
Within the Commons' House.

VIII.

That this had grieved his Master George,
Had grieved his heart full fore ;

And

And therefore his protest he'd make,
As Sidney did before.

IX.

He wisely told the statute o'er
Of Philip and of Mary,
And stout Sir Edward Poynings' law,
From which he'd never vary.

X.

That never should the Commons frame
A bill to grant a penny ;
For as to money, 'twas well known,
The people had not any.

XI.

The Council-board he thank'd full oft,
For their well-timed supply,
T'encrease the soldiers of the Crown,
And help it's dignity.

XII.

And having got the only jobb
The Crown desired to carry,
He wish'd the Knights and Burgesse
No longer there might tarry.

XIII.

God's blest, cries Lucas, in a rage,
His face all trembling white,

Are

Are burdens then the Royal Grace,
And taxes our birth-right?

XIV.

Ye navigations, and ye piers,
Ye docks and locks, where are ye?
Are ye become the sport and prey
Of Nathan and Sir Harry? *

XV.

The Ballast-office wall shall now
No more extend its piles;
And all the money shall be spent
By John a Nokes or Stiles.

XVI.

Then cast his eyes in sorrow down,
As one in doleful dumps;
“Revenge, he cried, tho’ legs are gone,
I’ll fight upon my stumps.”

XVII.

Quick as the lightning’s purple blast,
Flood started through the place,
Stand fast my merry men all, he cry’d,
We’ll give them *grace* for *grace*.

XVIII.

* Right Honourable Nathaniel Clements and Sir Henry Cavendish.

XVIII.

Address! address! stout Hussey cried;
 Impeach, quoth Burgh, impeach;
 Quoth Bush, remonstrate,—but in vain;
 Townshend has murder'd speech.

XIX.

O'Brien, sprung from Irish Kings,
 His eyes cast down with shame;
 Must Irishmen, he said, detest
 The sound of George's * name?

XX.

Shall we, because we've given much,
 No recompense ensure;
 Get no return—obtain no law,
 But laws to make us poor.

XXI.

And after all we've done, are we,
 Of all our hopes bereft,
 To lose the sole immunity,
 And privilege that's left.

XXII.

Stern Brownlow cried, since it must be,
 Were blasted in our prime;
 Our future grants shall never last
 'Bove six months at a time.

XXIII.

* T——h——d.

XXIII.

M'Cartney smil'd to see them sad,
And simper'd at their moan ;
For he was often wont to laugh,
And often laugh'd alone.

XXIV.

He told a story of three crows,
Three crows upon a stone,
And when that these three crows were gone,
Why then that there was none.

XXV.

This news came to our British King,
Dissolve, he strait did say,
I trust I have within my realm
Three hundred good as they.

XXVI.

These tidings came to fair Ireland,
And all her merry men ;
Sith 'twill no better be, say they,
We'll chuse the best again.

XXVII.

God save the King, and him he sent
To let us dine in peace,
And graciously cause foul debate
In parliament to cease.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R XVIII.

TO LORD LOFTUS.

MY LORD,

Feb. 16, 1771.

IN all cases, perhaps, it were better to consider what we may do with virtue and with honour, than what we may do with profit. But in some situations any other consideration is as absurd as it is criminal. Such, my lord, is yours. With such a fortune, nothing but a wild profusion, which neither your nature, your habits, nor your age invite you to, can render you necessitous. You must volunteer in iniquity.

GOVERNMENT has nothing to bestow in point of profit, which is worth your servility. If an higher title and new honours be your object, they surely ought never to be sought by dishonourable means. At least, not by you, for two reasons. First, because with a little patience, the natural force of your situation, without any ignominious sacrifice, must command them. Next, because having no children, it is absurd for you to be infamous whilst you live, to procure an honour which will expire with your breath.

WHAT

WHAT a man's children will be, he cannot foresee. An higher rank of nobility therefore, to men who have offspring, may be of some price, because it is, at least, a titular advantage to their posterity, if they should prove incapable of any thing more substantial; whilst it deprives them of no intrinsic distinction which they may happen to possess.—For, as Henry IV. says to his own son, with respect to the crown, which he had usurped, it comes to them in the fair and level course of descent, however obliquely it was obtained. But a man, like your lordship, who has no parental prospects to seduce him, and whose ambition is necessarily personal, must be as weak, as he is mean, if he relinquishes his real weight, and proper dignity, to add another sound, and another shadow, to one which he possesses.

IF men would trust their feelings of what is right, rather than their reasonings about what is wise, it would be better for the majority of mankind. No person is more miserably deceived in general than the man, who, whilst he is execrated by others, hugs himself in the thought, that, though he is sacrificing every thing else, he is at least consulting his interest. Men, who have such a vanity in being thought clever, that they would rather be thus reckoned shrewd, than honest, cannot be really wise. There is an original unsoundness in such understandings, that vitiates all their conclusions. If your lordship has lived to that
period

period in which the more valuable instincts are abated, take care that you reason justly on your situation, before you act upon your reasonings.

PARDON me for the freedom of this address. The welfare of a nation demands it. You are of too much consequence to be allowed the impunity of little knaves.—If our present Lord Lieutenant thought, that a meeting of parliament, as things are circumstanced, would be a benefit to this country, we must conclude from experience that he would not grant it. Your lordship it is said, by becoming an apostate, has emboldened him to hold a session, which he means to be fatal to this country. Degenerate as the age is, I cannot believe it. From the scanty pittance of a second brother, once glad, by the interest of your friends, to get 400l. a year, and a little pension for your wife, you have risen into a redundant fortune, accompanied with a numerous and obedient *following* in parliament. Has your mind been only elated, not enlarged, by prosperity? Are you insensible of the blessing of freedom? Instead of welcoming this independence, and congratulating yourself on this change, do you only yearn, like the Hottentot, to go back to your garbage? Remember, who were your friends, when you had not fortune.—Remember, when your present property was at stake, by what influence the die was cast in your favour.

Remember

Remember you are to decide whether that Privy Council,—a seat in which you so lately solicited in vain, and from which you may be expelled to-morrow,—whether that Privy Council shall grant away the money of the nation ; or the Commons, with whom you have a weight which no Governor, except your folly co-operates, can destroy.

THE eyes of the public are upon you. Gratitude, family affection, private faith, and public consistency, call aloud to you. You have still an option between honour and infamy ; but the first day of the session will close the alternative.—In the dream of affluence, and amidst the soothing of deceivers, you may, perhaps, have forgot your condition.—I wish to awaken, not to wound ; to prevent, and not to punish.

P A S C A L.

L E T T E R

LETTER XIX.

TO LORD LOFTUS.

MY LORD,

Feb. 23, 1771.

MY former letter prepared your Lordship for this. The rumour thickens and I must pursue the alarm. Your own thoughts have been at work. Let me assist you with mine.

You have seen, that you have every thing already, that interest or vanity can desire. But perhaps, the artifice of courts has inspired you with what you think ambition, and has taught you to believe, that you are engaged in the pursuit of power. Consider what it is which constitutes your weight. Profound knowledge, or shining abilities, are not your distinctions. Your consideration must entirely depend upon your parliamentary influence and personal character.

You cannot be so weak as to suppose, that the Government, whose end it is to destroy all *followings* in this country, except a venal following upon themselves, will wish to multiply your adherents. On the contrary you must see, that they will be perpetually on the watch to detach your troops, and when once you make them mercena-

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ries,

ries, some will desert. But some of them are in place already, you say, and if they were to forfeit their offices by adhering to you against government, you think you would be obliged to make them compensation. First, the number is not great. The profits of your wife's pension, and your own office (and if you chuse to retain them you certainly may) will supply a considerable part of the indemnification. Your agency and certain expectations, not to mention the solace it would give to his principles, would be sufficient for Mr. T———m the surveyor, till the necessary and speedy rotation of power would restore him to his office, or probably procure him a better. And if, for a year or even two years, it were requisite for you to contribute something out of your private revenue to the ease of your friends, you have so many disbursements, which you might better spare, that a saving in some less material part of your establishment might easily be made, to counterbalance this honourable charge. The suspension of any one article of expence at Rathfarnham (besides leaving a monument less of your taste) would compensate. But at best, if this be (as we are told) an argument of your Lordship's, it has it's foundation in the love of money; and you ought to remember, that if you are a votary to ambition, you must bid farewell to Mammon. Not to mention, that if you find this difficulty from a few of your creatures having employments, you will not diminish

minish that embarrassment, by crowding them all into office.

YET what else can Government do for you? You cannot look for office yourself. A sinecure would be mean; and an office of business would be ridiculous. If all then that you can hope from Government, will not add to this source of your consideration, they can only assist you in the other, by giving lustre to your character.

How then will your reputation stand, if you unite with Administration in the present juncture? What will the world say of you, if after having forced Mr. Ponsonby, in defiance to Government, to appoint Captain T——m, Collector of Drogheda, you should compel that good-natured gentleman, in order to preserve that collection, to cut the throat of Mr. Ponsonby, your common relation and benefactor? After having supported Mr. Ponsonby in the worst measures he was ever accused of pursuing, what will the world say, if you forsake him only where he is in the right? After having encouraged and led him on to resist an Administration, what will be said, if you desert him to abet that Administration? If with all your force you opposed the Privy Council Money-bill last session of parliament, what will be said, if in this session you support, with all your might, the protest and the prorogation! If the first time you spoke as a peer, you abused Lord Townshend, in

language, which gentlemen do not use, what will the world say of your spirit or consistency, if you become his tool? Insolence and brutality are never thought the best representatives of fortitude. But, if meanly retracted, they stand for something else.

ONE other foundation of influence to you I had forgot, I mean your property. But this, instead of justifying a dishonourable revolt, would be the heaviest aggravation of it. And yet it is whispered, that this, which ought to be your strength, is your weakness. Extraordinary causes are naturally sought for extraordinary effects. The officious world will talk, as if the litigation, in which you are still engaged for a great part of that property, were the clue to your defection. They say, that a great officer of the law, who is your statesman as well as your advocate, has expressed shrewd doubt of your success upon an appeal to England, if you should oppose Administration. In any age but this, a suggestion, so profligate and audacious, could not have been supposed; a suggestion, which is a stronger libel upon the government of these nations, than all that ever Bingley printed. Has then the *black emissary*, told you, that the House of Lords of Great Britain, in their capacity of final judicature, regardless of the merits of your cause, will ask, only, whether the friends of Lord Loftus, in the House of Commons of Ireland, opposed or supported Lord Townshend? Has he had the

the impudence to persuade you of this ; and have you had the wisdom to be persuaded ?

THE man, who cannot advise himself, will generally meet with bad counsel. The people who daily beset you, and instil what they dare not, perhaps, express, have unfortunately an interest repugnant to yours.

FEMININE intrigue cannot be suspected. Nor would it be for the honour of the woman, whom you love, that it should be supposed. One would not have it said, that principles so base could not harbour naturally in your breast, and that they must be communicated from a mean original.

AND if, in defiance of every principle of honour and prudence, you were to betray the public and your friends on this great occasion, consider how fatally you would betray yourself. If Government were defeated in the contest, ruin and infamy would seize you together. But suppose the best, which is never safe ; suppose, that Government were to have all that they can hope, a scanty majority. A great minority, so constituted as the present opposition to government, wherein the most powerful connexions, and the most respectable individuals of the kingdom, are united in the cause of the public, is a force which Eng-

lish Administration will not be mad enough to encounter from session to session, merely to gratify Lord Townshend with the Lieutenancy of Ireland. It is not to be conceived. The present Viceroy must infallibly, in a few months, be removed; and upon the first change you will find your folly; despised by friends, renounced by relations, cast off by Government, and hooted at by a nation. But if, in spite of every thing, you are determined to be infamous, at least have the reward of infamy. Go to the Castle, and if you are resolved on rapine (to use the simile you politely applied to the Lord Lieutenant) act like a highwayman, rather than like a pickpocket. Apply the blunderbuss of your gang to Lord Townshend's breast, and bid him *deliver*. You will find your error; and if you cannot go forward to profit, endeavour to return to honour.

P A S C A L.

I WILL pay my compliments to every deserter,
man by man.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

March 5, 1771.

A GOOD cause, it has often been remarked, is frequently injured by the incapacity of those who undertake its defence; but, when a bad one falls into the hands of clumsy advocates, their awkward efforts in its support tend only to shew its deformity in stronger colours, and to add contempt and ridicule to detestation and abhorrence.

I HAPPENED to be last night in a certain club, where the conduct of a great man was canvassed with much warmth; and I could not help remarking that his character was more likely to suffer (with the impartial hearers) from the ill-placed, injudicious flattery of his friends, than from the open, liberal, and manly reprehension of his opponents. Their mode of argumentation also was burlesque in the extreme: one learned gentleman* (who must be reckoned the champion of the

H 4 party,

* R——d P——r, Esq;

party, as he receives the pay of two common labourers) with the vociferation of a Bedlamite, and gesture and attitude nicely copied from the state kettle-drummer, informed the club that the protest (which, by the way, the great man had ordered to be entered upon the minute-book of another club as his protest) was not a protest; that it was a child of a Cabinet-council in another country, whose blundering godfather, like Mrs. Shandy's maid, Sufannah, forgot the name of the bantling, and caused it to be christened a protest, but that now it was old enough to be *confirmed*, it was to receive a new name—in short, that the protest was not a protest, but a vindication of the royal prerogative. I shall not follow this gentleman through the long ambages of his circumrotatory argument, nor relate with what a burst of oratorical powers he inveighed against the miserable Blackstone, and, in the tempest of his indignation, belaboured the calf-skin cover, to the no small endamage of his knuckles, and the infinite merriment of the whole club; the relation would take up more of my time, and of your paper, than either of us would chuse to throw away upon such a miserable subject. Another learned gentleman * (not yet placed indeed, but whose mouth has been for some time gaping for the court-manna) diverted the club not a little
by

* J—n S.—t, Esq.

by his wonderful talents of word-catching: this gentleman is one of those irregulars, who scarcely ever join the main-body, in any well conceived or forcible attack, but content themselves with watching the out-skirts, and plundering, chalking, or scalping any wretch whom a false step, or other cross accident, may have thrown in their way. With the petulant self-sufficiency of a country pedagogue, he quibbled for ten minutes, about mood and tense, number and person, concord and verb, equally to his own satisfaction and the amazement of his hearers, but as foreign to the matter in debate, as light is distant from darkness: this he may perhaps conceive to be pleasantry, and wit; these grammatical quibblings may serve him at the bar, they may disconcert an ignorant witness at a trial by *Nisi prius*, and make a circle of attornies admire the subtlety of his distinctions; but surely such empty trifling ill becomes the dignity of parliamentary debate. The only shadow of an argument which he uttered, tended to prove the following very curious positions, viz. that the private and domestic virtues of the great man, well deserved and ought to receive the meed of public thanks and approbation; and that his public demerits (however flagrant) should in justice be arraigned only at the impotent tribunal of private reprehension. What sort of arguments could be adduced to give colour to such positions, it would puzzle the most inventive ima-

gination to conceive. The public will probably be of opinion, that they could not be supported by any. One word, by way of hint, to this last gentleman, and I shall dismiss him for the present: he entered upon the political stage an avowed supporter of Administration; he had the reputation at least of being a young man of parts, and had credit perhaps for greater abilities than he really possesses; let him consider with himself, how he has hitherto supported the pre-conceived opinion: putting the party he connected himself with quite out of the question, has he risen or sunk in the public estimation?—If he cannot answer this question to his satisfaction, let him be thrifty of the *remnant* of his credit, and remember that many, who formerly set up with as large a capital as himself, have proved bankrupt in the end.

I MUST beg this learned gentleman's pardon; I had almost omitted the mention of an undeniable argument which he offered in proof of his employer's very extraordinary abilities; little critics may indeed attempt to lessen its merit, by objecting that it has been used before by Serjeant Kite: His argument in short was this; that the great man is, of necessity, a very great man, as he happens to be upwards of six feet high. What a wonderful talent for vindication and panegyric! Or, has this gentleman a concealed intention, whenever he

he shall be inclined to change his political creed, to affirm that his former language was irony and burlesque?

I HAVE already, I fear, exceeded the limits, which it may be convenient to you to allow me. I shall therefore defer the portrait of the wild Canadian, and some others equally remarkable, to another opportunity.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your friend and a lover of liberty,

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

L E T T E R XXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR,

March 16, 1771.

MY friend, the Colonel, whom one of your correspondents had the impudence to call a wild Canadian, is, I assure you, a very good scholar, and critic, though the gentlemen in the *Round House* were pleased to laugh, a few days ago, when he quoted a line out of the Odes of Horace. — We studied our *humanities*, and *pushing*, together; and he was always the crack of the school. — I admire exceedingly his bravery, good nature, and affection for his friend; but as I don't at all agree with him in his political principles, I could not help viewing the Ode, he alluded to, in a different light from him, and thought it so applicable to Sancho, as they call him, that I have ventured

ventured to try my poetical abilities upon it—of
which the enclosed is a specimen ; which is all at
present from

Your humble servant to command,

DENIS O'FLAHERTY.

HORACE, BOOK I. ODE XXII.

Integer vitæ, &c.

Quoted by an *honourable* COLONEL, to illustrate
the character of SANCHO.

THE man, that's neither brave nor just,
Is slave to passion, dupe to lust,
No honest soul will ever trust,

Or praise him :

Unconscious of a gen'rous heart,
He needs the tyrant's vengeful dart,
The poison'd bribe, and flatt'rer's art,

To raise him.

Whether he treads CANADA'S snows,
Where thy great flood (St. LAURENCE) flows;
And decks with *other's* wreaths his brows,

For flying ;

Or curses some oppressed nation
With heavy load *Augmentation* ;
And ruins trade, by prerogation,

And lying :

In ev'ry art, he mean appears ;
As when loud cannons stunn'd his ears,
And a WOLFE's fury rais'd his fears,

In battle.

In

In war, his counsel's 'gainst the fight ;
 In peace, the army's his delight ;
 When troops, to trample *civil right*,

Fierce rattle.

Place him in sun-shine of a court,
 Where ministerial tools resort ;
 He'll make the PEOPLE'S *wrongs*, his sport

And profit :

Or place him on that hapless shore,
 Where knaves for *Privy Council* roar,
 And fools their *birth-right* claim give o'er ;

He'll scoff it.

Where e'er he prostitution meets,
 He the apostate traitor greets ;
 With sycophants he'll strole the streets,

And quaff it :

And when swill'd draughts vexation cure,
 At fawning jests of wit impure,
 And the distorted caricature,

He'll laugh it.

L E T T E R XXII.

TO EDMOND SEXTON PERY, ESQ. †

S I R,

March 23, 1771.

AMIDST the number of deserters, who call on me for the performance of my word, I shall first fulfil my obligation to you.—
 The person to whom, and the manner in which,
 you

† In December 1769, the Parliament was prorogued, immediately after the Money-bill (which was the only law enacted that

you have succeeded, entitle you to this pre-eminence. You have attracted *industriously* the public notice. The Chair, which seemed to have fallen upon you unawares, you have declared to have been the highest point of your ambition; and in your speech to the Lord Lieutenant, you have departed as much from the disguise of your own nature, as from the decency of our forefathers, to proclaim, that you had been solicitous to obtain that elevation, which they thought it proper apparently to decline. This, however, was not without example. You had the precedent of that *principled* and *modest* Lawyer, Sir Fletcher Norton, to follow;

that session) had received the royal assent, because the House of Commons had presumed, not to assert, but to reject a bill in such a manner as by *inuendo* and construction might seem to assert, their right to originate all grants of money. For fourteen months no Parliament was summoned to meet. At length Administration finding it absolutely necessary to revive some laws that had expired, condescended to convene the Parliament, and it met on the 26th of February 1771. Great were the expectations of the people; but on the first day of meeting it appeared that the Castle had a majority of 25.—The numbers were 132 to 107. Accordingly, instead of vindicating their rights, the House of Commons, in an address, most humbly thanked his Gracious Majesty for continuing the wretched instrument of an arbitrary Administration, and the violator of their most essential privilege, in the Government of Ireland. They also voted an address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, testifying their entire approbation of his conduct. Mr. Ponsonby, rather than present this address to the man who had reviled and insulted both Houses of Parliament, resigned the chair of the House of Commons; and the Gentleman, to whom this letter is addressed, was chosen Speaker in his room, by a majority of four voices.

follow; it seems, that his having abdicated the profession of the law for the chair of the Commons, is not the only similitude between you.

As your end was concealed, you must needs have used address to obtain it, and it is matter of curiosity to trace the windings, by which you have advanced so successfully and so unperceived to your object.

You set out a courtier professed, and in the memorable year fifty-three, were the most strenuous advocate in favour of the altered Money-bill. A fact which I mention from candour, as it marks a happy coincidence between the first and the latest principle of your life. Your zeal, however, at that time, was thought greater than your abilities, and though you asked only a Serjeant's gown as the reward of your labours, it was refused to you. Notwithstanding the mildness of your disposition, this disappointment helped to throw you into opposition the next session, and there you have been found, half-continuing, and half-discontinuing ever since. You have never shone upon us, indeed, with full aspect. You have only been presented to us in profile.

You were a pupil of the late Primate. Your patron was in disgrace in the Marquis of Hartington's Administration, and not better in that of the Duke of Bedford. He opposed clandestinely,
and

and you were the instrument. A man of better parts joined your opposition, and outstripped you. He was appointed Prime Serjeant, and thus an insuperable barrier was raised against your ambitious views in the law.

FROM that moment you abated in activity, and the native gloom of your countenance assumed a darker shade, from perpetual discontent. You declared, that you never would accept an office. The despair of ambition was succeeded by the hopes of avarice, and your mercenary views took the channel of navigation. Bridges were built, and fortifications demolished, to raise your estate; and Government floated you on your own canal into the harbour of the court. Appearances, however, of independence and opposition were still to be maintained. Hence the varying gusts, which, though long solved by the judicious, still deceived the unwary. The atmosphere lowered on Government to-day, and to-morrow it was all composure. Another Æolus, you presided over the storms of opposition, and let loose, and recalled the tempest, at discretion.

THIS traffic having sufficiently improved your fortune, you left the Bar, and hence we are to date your aspirings to your present station. To vacate the chair, it was necessary to render Mr. Ponsonby weary of that office, and to render Government weary of Mr. Ponsonby. How was this effected?

effected? By plunging that gentleman into difficulties, and by pledging him for principles, in both of which you discovered your readiness to abandon him. Had this been done by an open adversary, it might have been stratagem; but, under the guise of friendship, it might take a name too indelicate for me to mention.

IN one instance, however, you over-refined; you were guilty of unnecessary perfidy. Why did you declare to all the world, that you would not be a candidate for the chair whilst your relation Mr. Brownlow stood for it? Why did you promise to support him? Why did you engage to second the Marquis of Kildare, who was to propose Mr. Brownlow? And why did you break your honour, by rendering it impossible that you should perform it? Why did you contrive, that the Secretary should propose yourself, in the same moment that he delivered to the house the message from Government to chuse a Speaker? And why did you thus manage to have yourself elected, before Mr. Brownlow could be mentioned, and to defeat your promise, before you could be called upon to fulfil it.

THIS is matter of some surprize. Men, who have even cunning, generally parcel out and manage their departures from honour and virtue. If private faith is to be violated, they endeavour to have the palliation of public fidelity. If they
are

are to be guilty of public defection, private integrity is if possible retained in their cause. They seldom forfeit all political and domestic honour in the same transaction, or leave themselves destitute of every defence. But the time was come when the Maskwell of the political scene was no longer to be disguised. A desperate plunge was necessary.— If you failed, you saw that you were undone.— Witness the convulsion of your frame during the scrutiny of numbers, and your speechless extasy on the declaration of your success.

THE crime of Mr. Ponsonby, and of the House of Commons, with respect to the Council Money-bill last session, was, that they concurred in a resolution modelled and proposed by you. You have been the most forward, notwithstanding, to forsake yourself as well as the public ; and, by the insidious and insulting benefaction of the court, you have become the instrument of conveying flattery to that Viceroy, by whom you were so pointedly, and as it were personally, condemned from the throne. Were I your enemy, I should rejoice in an event, which has levelled you with Lord Loftus for punctuality of promise ; which has matched you for delicacy with Sir Fletcher Norton, and which has equalled you to both, in consistence and in dignity. But my wishes for the honour of human nature forbid, that I should desire any satisfaction from
such

such a source ; and make me lament, what otherwise were only to be reviled and detested.

P A S C A L.

L E T T E R XXIII.

TO THE EARL OF TYRONE.

MY LORD,

March 30, 1771.

HAD you not revolted from the public before I assumed the pen, you should have heard from me sooner. My censorship I considered as subsequent to your offence, and therefore I forebore. But a recent and additional desertion, of a nature not expected in your Lordship, a desertion of your peculiar interest and pride, has entitled me to address you.

IF, contrary to common sense, you had concurred in the scheme of Government to destroy all family weight, though the only source from which you yourself could derive any power, yet we could account for it. Present profit overpowers the cunning. A little courtship intoxicates the vain. And men, not of the most piercing intellects, may easily be insensible to remoter consequences. But when you had the chair of the House of Commons on one hand, and a Commissioner's place on the other ;
when

when the shortest, or the most scattering sight, might have been sufficient to decide ; when, if you could not see, you might have felt, the two objects, and have determined their respective value by that sense which you possess, and which one of your political adversaries had like to have tried—— what could have produced your error ?

IN station the chair was higher ; in revenue it was more profitable ; and it was more secure in tenure. We do not speak of wisdom ; nay, not of sense. Sanity was all that was requisite to see this. The Commissioner's place too had been stripped of influence, before you could procure it for your brother. A thousand pounds a year, with a troublesome attendance, and without patronage, was no great price, for the servitude of a proud family, and of some following, for three or four years past. But who could have thought, that it would have purchased the whole inheritance, the fee-simple, of all your servilities ?

You certainly have given a specimen of temper. It would have provoked another to have been set on for two or three days in such a pursuit, and then to be abandon'd ; especially by a Governor, who ought to have been a friend, and in a matter, which had been avowedly the object of one's life. It would be still more grating, if, were it not for this countermand of Government, one's success had been certain. Nor would it be the least trying circumstance,

circumstance, not only to be stripped one's self of an acquisition, but to be dragooned into an implicit engagement to transfer it to any other person that might be named, and thereby to consign it to an insidious rival, whom one had always personally hated, and politically opposed. A man too without rank, without birth, without great possessions to account for, or to conciliate one to his success. A man, not of courtly manners, nor likely to soften, or hide, his superiority in the transaction. Had he been a young simpleton even, it would have been some comfort. One would rather have it imputed to the good-fortune of an equal, than that the world should see one had been so over-reached by an adversary.

OTHERS applaud your wisdom, and say, that you argued thus with yourself: "My brother is
 " young.—None of my family come to their abilities quickly. He was at the bar, and obliged
 " to leave it.—He is on trial at the Revenue-
 " board; and if it will scarce do there, where he
 " has pen, and ink, and paper, and time to consider, how much worse might it be in public, and
 " on the sudden? In the chair, hated as an apostate by opposition, and as an extortioner by government, all parties would unite to puzzle
 " him. It will not do. Let him stay safe at the
 " Board. —There he will have the friendly abilities
 " of Osborne to direct him; and what Government
 " ment

“ment can be jealous, or what foe can envy him,
“whilst he has Allen by his side?”

YOUR friends go farther. They say that people mistake, who think that you receded without a reason. They alledge, though you could not turn the promises of your friends to as much advantage as you intended, yet, that you sold them as high as you could. They suggest, that if one brother relinquished the mace, a mitre was stipulated for another. In proof of which, they urge the extreme alacrity with which your little squadron rode into the field for Mr. Ponsonby, and with which even that old, cast, troop-horse, poor Fitzgibbon, trotted to the Castle-yard upon that occasion, to make part of the auction that was holding for his son-in-law.

THERE are some, indeed, who speak of you in a different tone. There are some, who say, that you were never ranked more than one degree above an idiot, until the year fifty-three, when you entered the councils of the patriots in the character of a spy. That in the earlier period of your political life, you were the tool and the jest of the late Prime. That in the feminine Administration of the Lord Bristol you for the first time began to traffic on your own account. That from that hour to this, there never has been a public question, in which you and yours have not fairly gone to market.— That Ministers thought at first you had sense, because

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cause you were venal, but that they have found your folly superior even to your corruption. That for the future, you will be but a part of the gilded trumpery of the court, without importance, or value, and that, as there is no ignominy which you will not bear, there is no insult which they will not offer.

THIS is the language of your greatest enemy : it is the language of your own breast.

P A S C A L.

L E T T E R XXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

April 3, 1771.

IN looking over some old papers I found the following history of Barataria, which, for the satisfaction of the curious, you are at liberty to publish.

I am, &c.

AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

THE

* THE HISTORY OF BARATARIA CONTINUED.

THE last assembly of the States, immediately after they had granted Government an augmentation of military strength, and supplies of unusual magnitude, were summoned before the awful tribunal of Sancho, where they were reviled, insulted, and discharged†.—They were discharged without having been permitted to deliberate on any ordinance of public concern, or exercise one power of legislation, excepting only that of munificence and taxation. It was in vain the voice of the people echoed from every quarter of the kingdom, complaining that the reward of their liberality had been a privation of their rights, and that parliament had been discontinued, because Government had been satisfied. The deputies of the people had been beyond all example bountiful—but their crime was, that their resolutions were construed to *imply* an opinion, that these bounties being the bounties of the people, *their* deputies were more competent to proportion and ascertain them, than the deputies of *Government*, which was only

to

* This history was originally published in detached portions in the Freeman's Journal in April and May 1771, but being a continued narration, it has been thought proper to print it all together in one piece.

† See Letters 9 and 10, and the Appendix No. 1. 3.

to accept them, and accept them with gratitude.—Sancho sat in his castle or cottage, (for his habitations, as his habits, were various) superior to any sense of the evils he had occasioned, or the injuries he had inflicted. The decay of trade, the ruin of public credit, the violation of private engagements, the doubt of every good man, the distrust of all, were the objects, and the means, of his administration. If he could break the resolution of the virtuous, and disappoint the confidence of honourable engagements, he thought, that in the end he might defeat all laudable association, and by bursting the bonds of affinity and connexion, by degrees, dissolve all ties to the country.

THERE was a man in Baratania, whose name was Henrico ; the Count Loftonzo—a man high in rank—eminent in possessions—who inherited the great qualifications of a numerous *following* ;—but in early life so humble had been his condition, that a connexion with an illustrious family was scarcely able to preserve his person from obscurity, or his circumstances from indigence.—The near relations of affinity seemed to have had a laudable direction, when for a course of years they had been employed in furnishing shelter to the man in Baratania, who most stood in need of it.—Don John, a Chief of high rank and an illustrious house, had long enjoyed the first power, and most extensive influence, in Baratania.—To this person the Count had united himself in early life ;

I before

before wealth and honours had directed their current towards him; and whilst as yet Fortune continued to frown, where Nature had frowned before.—Don John was a man, who to *eminent* qualities added unusual *softness* of soul.—He recollected, that Henrico was his kinsman, which is a circumstance amongst the ties of humanity.—He was poor, and John had compassion on him.—He was friendless, and he acknowledged him.—Hetherefore employed his powerful interposition, to procure a subsistence from the state, for Henrico.—And even condescended to attend to female infirmity, so far, as by a public stipend, to enable his wife to purchase certain silken apparel, and play at certain costly games, which, tho' they were above her rank and fortune, were not above her ambition, or her vanity. Thus it happened that Henrico had faithfully adhered to Don John, whilst the latter had *power*, or the former *wanted protection*.—But when Sancho commenced his attack on the freedom of Barataria, by depriving her of the Cortes—Henrico through the wantonness of Fortune, had become enriched by great possessions—distinguished by honours, and fortified by powerful dependencies. Sancho judged, that as Henrico no longer stood in need of assistance, he no longer remembered the assistance he had received.—He applied himself to the Count—and besought him, “to cast away from his mind all idle
“ obligations, and separate himself from all con-
“ nexion

“ nexion with Don John, his kinsman—that he
 “ should not conform his conduct to the dictates
 “ of gratitude, lest it might appear to be the result
 “ of dependance—that he should join and associ-
 “ ate his *great powers*, his *great connexions*, his ho-
 “ nourable name, his *high abilities*, his *personal for-*
 “ *titude*, and *captivating manners*, with the Court
 “ of Barataria, under the direct influence, and im-
 “ mediate superintendence, of the Spanish Mini-
 “ stry. Thus, that the *honours* of Old Spain, and
 “ the *plunder* of Barataria, would dignify him, and
 “ his *dependants*.

THUS far had the artifice of Sancho applied it-
 self to the *weakness*, and *vanity* of Henrico.—And
 though this address was in itself likely to be crown-
 ed with success, yet as the friends of Barataria
 were not to be indulged with one cast on the die
 in their favour, matters of *probability only* were re-
 jected, as insufficient authorities for entering upon
 the great project of Sancho's administration.

ABSURDITY and ambition, 'tis true, had oc-
 cupied a fair proportion of the mind of Henrico;
 yet did it likewise entertain several humbler guests,
 —amongst which the historians of his day have
 enumerated a *perception of danger*. Great as his
 possessions were, the tenure was precarious.—They
 were not the *rights of inheritance*, nor the *acquire-*
ments of purchase; but we rather consider them as
 enjoyed under the title of conquest. The right-

ful heir had, as historians relate, been disappointed by the testament of the late Count Loftonzo Hume-Eli, over whose imbecility Henrico so far triumphed, as to compel him to a surrender of his maternal demesnes into the hands even of Henrico himself. But still, tho' the enjoyment of those possessions was delightful, the duration of that enjoyment appeared to the fears of Henrico as capable of doubt. The free-will gifts of captivity, and the disposing powers of mental incapacity, were matters at which the laws might cavil.

THIS apprehension in the mind of Henrico was to be a new key to his conversion ; for the management of which, an instrument, entirely proportioned to the purpose had been selected.

THERE was at that time in Barataria a man named *Philip*—who was by birth a Moor, by profession an advocate. He was become the first companion and counsellor of Sancho ; into the dark repository of whose bosom did he pour the fallies of his jocularity, and the secrets of his administration. Don Philip was likewise *General Attorney* of the States, and Judge of the Testamentary Court.

WHETHER we consider the qualities he had, or those he had not, we find him alike accomplished for the present undertaking. He was a man formed by nature, and fashioned by long practice, for all

all manner of court intrigue. His stature was low, so as to excite neither envy, nor observation—his countenance dismal—his public manners grave, and his address humble. But, as in public he covered his prostitution by a solemnity of carriage, so in private he endeavoured to captivate by convivial humour; and to discountenance all public virtue, by the exercise of a perpetual, and sometimes not unsuccessful, irony.

By these arts he recommended himself to the late Cardinal Lapidaro, and Don Thomaso del Cartero; the two most crafty statesmen—the De Retz and Machiavel of their age; under whom he studied, and against whom, at times, he exercised the mystery of politics.

To these qualifications Don Philip added an extraordinary magnificence of living.—His table was furnished with every thing that splendour could suggest, or luxury consume; and his profusion and policy united to solicit a multitude of guests. To his house then resorted all those, who wished through him to obtain, or to learn from him to enjoy without remorse, those public emoluments, which are the purchase of public infidelity.

AMONGST the visitors of Don Philip was a youth, hitherto of fair fame, and gentle endowments—Don Helena, the civilian—who lately had accepted the

office of menial counsellor to Loftonzo. Through him therefore a new communication was to be opened with the Count.

THUS by an unsuspected channel were new terrors added to the natural timidity of Henrico. He was informed, “ that the title to his extensive territory depended on a testament, the validity of which was determinable within Don Philip’s jurisdiction.—That by adhering to old engagements and national regards, he would forfeit that *friendly disposition* in his judge, which is so necessary to *equal* justice.—— That the final adjudication of this great cause resided in the supreme assembly of the grandees in Spain, where Sancho had a suffrage ; which suffrage the Count might ensure, or alienate, as his conduct should be friendly or hostile to his government in Barataria.—— That in times of simplicity and ignorance, the Spanish Nobles had restrained their judgments within the rigid precepts of law, and the austerities of justice ; but that of late, refinement of manners had broken through those harsh restrictions, and legal severity yielded to the softer influence of favour and affection.”

HE proceeded to pour into the ears of the Count, instances of this high refinement in the grandees of Spain ; and one especially, which had fallen even within the limited knowledge of Loftonzo himself,—

himself,—*the late decision in favour of the Count Penfretto, respecting the collieries of Andalusia.*

THESE arguments made a sufficient impression on the mind of Henrico. But Sancho having particular reason to know how little reliance is to be had on the promises of fear, or the attachments of infidelity, thought that no security had been taken for the allegiance of the Count, whilst there yet remained any further bond, whereby to render the tie indissoluble. The considerations of fame and fortune had been notably discussed, and dexterously reconciled.——And tho' views of ambition and interest had gained ground on the mind of Loftonzo, there was another power that held the dominion of his soul.

THE Countess, his consort, was a lady of singular spirit and magnanimity—and though her birth and fortune had been beneath mediocrity, yet did she possess a stately and aspiring mind, which taught her to forget the humility of her origin. She preserved that sovereign authority over the Count, which gave satisfaction to every advocate for *female pre-eminence*,—she was his superior in capacity—she was his superior as his *creditor*.—For the Countess had *legal* demands upon her Lord, which, though he was crowned with wealth and honours, he was yet unable to discharge; thus his subjection was the subjection of an insolvent debtor.

THE Countess therefore had been compelled to transfer her thoughts of posterity, and the reverberations of her grandeur, to her niece *Donna Dorothea Del Monrofo*——And here, did the gravity of history, and importance of the subject admit it,—— here could we rest for pages, from the travel of story, and indulge the purest rapture in contemplating the perfections of this lovely maiden.— Her stature was majestic, but her air and demeanour was *nature itself*.—The peculiar splendor of her carriage was softened and subdued by the most affable condescension; and as sensibility gave a lustre to her eye, so discretion gave a security to her heart.—And indeed, whilst her charms inspired universal rapture, the authority of her innocence regulated and restrained it.—The softest roses that ever youth and modesty poured out on beauty, glowed on the lip of Dorothea.—Her cheeks were the bloom of Hebe, and the purity of Diana was in her breast.—Never did beauty appear so amiable, nor virtue so adorned, as in this incomparable virgin! In her progress through the Courts of Arragon and Navarre, she had been exhibited to the Princes of the Continent, and returned in the possession of humble manners.—Several had solicited her in marriage, but the refined policy of her protectors always interposed against her, and reserved her to become the innocent instrument of a national evil.—But let us not be supposed to glance a thought against your
purity,

purity, lovely Dorothea!—Whatever be your fortune, or wherever you go, you will retain yourself.—If in public splendor and exalted station; you will carry with you humility and moderation.—If inauspicious destiny sink you to the rank of humble condition, your beauties will adorn, and your virtues dignify, your retreat!

SANCHO, some time after his arrival in Barataria, sustained an heavy affliction; which was attended with one notable peculiarity—that of being the single instance, wherein the sentiments of the Baratarians, and their Governour, had been united or similar.—Death had deprived him of the Baroness Feraro, his consort—a lady of high birth and fortune, adorned by the most eminent virtues and amiable manners.—Wherever her influence could extend, it was the influence of benefaction—and where her power could not *gratify*, her affability *conciliated*. To her Lord she left every thing to lament—she was the splendour of his station; she was the solace of his *hours of sobriety*—and if any thing like refinement grew about his palace, or his person, it was the hand of the Baroness that planted it there.

AND here must we give the praises which are due to the generosity and candour of the people of Barataria. At this time, though they saw, that the constitution of their country had been invaded,

their commerce destroyed, and their condition desperate——yet did they here forget *themselves*, and cast away from their minds all sense of their injuries.—Here, generous compassion suspended their just resentments——Here, their lamentations were poured out at the tomb of departed excellence, and here did they mingle their tears with the tears of their undoer. And indeed the history of all ages have represented those benevolent islanders as a people zealous of their testimony to superior merit, wherever they have found it—whether amongst adversaries, or friends——in the camp of the enemy, or the laurels of a competitor.—On this event they lamented, that so much virtue had *departed*——that so little had been *left behind*.

THOUGH this was matter of sincere concern to Sancho's heart, it however became a new circumstance of power to his administration. The first station in female pre-eminence was now unoccupied; and there was a vacancy, as it were, in the first office under the Governour——even a participation of the throne of Vicegerency.

As this was the first office open to female ambition, it is not to be wondered at, that the Countess Loftonzo was the first to aspire at it——she communicated the phrenzy of this sentiment to the Count——adding, in an extacy of grandeur, “that the world should see her niece, Donna
“ Dorothea

“Dorothea del Monrofo, raise her head above
 “the proudest families of the island—that she
 “would sustain with dignity, and embellish by
 “her accomplishments, the vacant chair in the
 “chamber of carousals.” And, thus far indeed,
 the Countess had spoken the language of truth—
 and our vows should have accompanied hers to heaven,
 were the accomplishment of them to be the felicity of Dorothea.—But, lovely maiden, may
 your charms never be bartered in unwarrantable traffick!——May fortune, or artifice, never place
 you in a station to which the most refined attachment shall not select you!——May you fill the
 high rank to which your bright endowments give you title; but never become the splendid mourner
 of a parent’s ambition!——Sancho saw this extravagance growing in the mind of the Countess,
 and determined to cultivate it.——Every thing that *incoherent sentences* and a *distracted manner*
 could suggest, was accepted by the Countess, as a confirmation of her wishes; a *natural perplexity*,
 and *embarrassment of elocution*, were the *confusion of real passion*—and *ambiguous inference*, as it was unintelligible,
 was supposed to convey a *solemn declaration of love*.

THIS, however, was sufficient to satisfy the mind of the Countess; and therefore Sancho obtained the object of his industry.—He saw not, it is true, the roses in the cheek of Dorothea, but
 he

he enumerated the suffragans in the train of Loftonzo. As to the Countess, her imagination was on fire!—It already presented to her, her niece, the incomparable Dorothea, crowned Vice-queen of the island of Barataria; her Lord Loftonzo distinguished by all the coronets of all his ancestry; and the deputyship of the island conferred on him, at the departure of Sancho. Every thing was accomplished in her ardent mind; and sports and pastimes—tilts and tournaments—dance and festivity, were proclaimed throughout the Castle and the forests of Rafarmo.—The smile of Dorothea was to be the prize of chivalry; and her hand in the dance, the trophy of the Governour's pre-eminence!

THUS were the politics of Sancho brought to a fair issue. His confidence in the Count was not now written in *the sand of promises*, or the *frail memorial of benefits conferred*;—it was now built upon a rock.—The bonds of Loftonzo were links of iron.

AT this critical season, letters came to Sancho from the Government of Spain, full of warlike rumours, and threatening general commotions. These letters brought intelligence, “that the Monarch of the Western Isles had declared war against Don Francisco Bucarelli, the Governour of Buenos Ayres; and that as the Court of Spain might

might possibly assist, and avow, Don Francisco, it was necessary that Barataria should be rendered defensible; her armies augmented, her forts repaired, and her garrisons supplied with the necessities of war."

SANCHO wrote a dispatch to the Viscount Bo-reoso, prime minister of Spain (of whose character and conduct we shall hereafter have occasion more fully to treat) which he sealed with his own hand, and which he committed to the conveyance of Don Edwardo Swanzero, his friend, his counsellor, and his musician. And, however unaccountable it may seem to posterity, certain it is, that of all Sancho's retainers, this Swanzero held the greatest share in his confidence.——He was then chosen to be the trusty messenger; and as the winds were adverse at the Capital, he was obliged to take the southern circuit, and embark for Spain at the port of O'Corko—with the strictest injunctions, however, to yield to no temptations of delay, nor even to pay a one-night's visit to the old bishop of Toledo, whose villa was within a league of O'Corko; notwithstanding the partialities and favours, with which this right rev. prelate has been accustomed to entertain the *Family* of Swanzero.

IN this letter he informed the Viscount, "that
 " through the obstinacy of the feudal lords, and
 " Don John the commoner, the country of Bara-
 " taria

" taria had been reduced to poverty and tumult;
 " that the revenues were diminished, the exche-
 " quer almost bankrupt, and Government had
 " neither legal authority, nor public confidence, to
 " enable them to borrow money.—That for his
 " part, he had acted as became a faithful servant,
 " and a prudent governour, in this season of scarcity
 " and discredit—That he had stopped payment of
 " the pensions to the widows of the deceased offi-
 " cers, and withheld the wages of all public arti-
 " ficers. That this instance of frugality and mo-
 " deration had again enabled the royal munifi-
 " cence to take its course, which was a current
 " that, under the auspices of his majesty's arm, no
 " opposition—no pleas of incapacity, or famine,
 " should ever obstruct, or retard.—That the prin-
 " cess dowager of Naples had been *gratified*, by the
 " grant of a considerable pension to her favourite,
 " Don Jeremiah Dysonzo; not only to himself,
 " but to his posterity; notwithstanding *the solemnity*
 " *of the Royal Word, pledged to the contrary.* And
 " that he had taken this opportunity of informing
 " the Baratarians, once for all, *That the power of*
 " *a Monarch would be low indeed, if his promises*
 " *were to be considered, as restrictions on his will—*
 " That a stipend on Barataria had rewarded the fi-
 " delity and service of Don Bradshozo, the friend
 " and assistant, the scrivener and the slave, of the
 " duke Fitzroyola; a nobleman who shall trans-
 " mit his name with honour to posterity, as the
 " great author of that illustrious policy, which
 " finally

“ finally transferred to the *Cortes*, those rights of
“ election, which formerly resided in, and frequently divided, *the People*.”——That, without boasting of his services,——for he was not vain!——he must further inform the Viscount,
“ That where any of the great offices in Barataria
“ produced enormous stipends to the occupier, and
“ no benefit to the public, he had thought it necessary to his Majesty’s honour and service, that
“ there should be a proper augmentation of the salary—and that he had accordingly made an annual addition of four thousand crowns to the salary of one of the king’s servants, as a reward
“ and indemnification for his trouble and expence,
“ in collecting a revenue, the whole of which had,
“ by royal grant, become his own property.——
“ That after such acts of *public service*, not even
“ the stoppages made on widows, and the infirm,
“ the deduction of wages, and œconomy towards
“ the poor, were yet sufficient to furnish Government with the means of fortifying the island.—
“ That if war was *probable*, money was *indispensable*; and that supplies could, at that time, be
“ only procured by calling the *Cortes* together;
“ as delicacy and reserve ought to recommend the
“ beginning of every great project; and as the people were not yet entirely reconciled to the idea of
“ being taxed only by the *private council* of the
“ Monarch.——That in order to render the convention of the national assembly practicable,
“ and its consequences auspicious, the great Count
“ Loftonzo,

“ Loftonzo, with his household, had enlisted under
 “ the royal banner—and that, as the Count’s forti-
 “ tude and fidelity were to be suspected, he should
 “ take all precautions to prevent his *desertion*; that,
 “ during the truce, he would have him narrowly
 “ watched in his castle; and, in the day of trial, he
 “ would place him, and his retainers, in the front
 “ of the battle. And thus, by exhibiting this
 “ *glaring* instance of apostacy, should he give such
 “ a wound to the credit of all private faith, and
 “ public consistency, the bonds of honour, of gra-
 “ titude, and of blood, as must ultimately tend to
 “ dissolve all those obstinate connexions, which
 “ had hitherto been an obstruction to the power of
 “ the Crown.”

THE spirited endeavours of Sancho to propa-
 gate private perfidy, and purchase the violation of
 public trusts, were not indeed confined to the noble-
 man of Rafarmo. The whole powers of seduction
 were now employed against the country. To
 every man, who had a vote in the Cortes, was offer-
 ed that proportion of the public plunder, at which
 even his own partiality could estimate his own
 merit—Every office had been exposed to sale, the
 possessor of which was suspected from his integrity,
 or unmanageable from his independent spirit.—
 New boards were held out to the interested; and
 to obtain titles and honours, it was only necessary,
to be vain, and to be venal.—Even holy bishoprics
 themselves, hitherto held sacred and unsaleable,
 were

were to be taxed with symonical annuities to purchase the surrender of civil offices, or hawked about the Island, as a merchandize in traffick, to any power or connexion, that was enabled to become the purchaser, by a property of votes in the assembly of the people.

AND not only the vices, but the virtues of the people, were made instruments against them ; for, as avarice is ever rapacious, and ambition aspiring, so generosity is but too often necessitous, and benevolence deluded by a glimpse of power to display itself. The administration of justice through the sheriffs of the several counties, was to be bought and sold by parliamentary conduct ; and the army was stationed either for insult or protection, as favour or resentment disposed the arrangement.

NEVER did the mysteries of corruption make such a progress as at this period.—The possessions of the incorruptible—The reversions of old age—the offices of those who had been purchasers by service, but were not of the senate—even the slender support of tottering infirmity, were all bartered, and sold to those, who had the resolution *to sacrifice their country.*

AND here we should be happy, in reciting the catalogue of the seduced, and the undone—of those who stooped their heads to corruption, and opened their hands to gain—happy should we be, if the
base

base and ignoble, the desperate of condition, and the lost to fame, were alone to be found !

WHILST this traffick was carried on in Barataria, unfortunately it was the only trade which at this time the country had to boast of ;——the balance of which commerce, being indeed against them, was likely to be *the loss of their liberty*.

DURING this great investigation of resources, and play of politics,——when the fore-tellers for administration counted a majority of twenty against their country, it came to pass, that the King of the Islands struck his flag to Don Francisco Bucarelli ; and therefore the governour of Buenos Ayres condescended to accept a temporary accommodation, which had been proposed between them.

THE assembling the Cortes in Barataria was not now *necessary*, on the principle of preservation ; but it was judged *expedient*, on the construction of policy. The triumph of the Crown over the constitutional dignity of that great assembly, and the people of which it was representative, was thought by the jealous friends of power, as imperfect and incomplete, until it should be reconvened *before the very governour*, who had been the immediate instrument of the injuries, and insults, they had received. Sancho's heart was devoted to the idea of adding this wreath to the laurels of America. And indeed it was an heart composed of the most extraordinary

traordinary materials in nature!—But as we shall hereafter, † in the course of this history, give posterity an entire portrait of this wonderful character, we shall for the present proceed to relate those several parts of his conduct, which are but so many features of the great piece we shall attempt to draw.

INSPIRED with the noble ambition of deciding finally, if possible, this great constitutional point against the freedom of Barataria, and of *insulting* where he had *detracted*; Sancho assembled the venerable Junto of the cabinet, and stating to them his *determination*, he desired their *counsel*.

THE members of this political conclave were persons of the first offices in the state, whose advice had always the greatest *authority* with the governour, as it was always accompanied with the greatest *acquiescence*. And, as we may hereafter, in the progress of this national story, have frequent occasion to consider them, we shall here give an enumeration of them in detail.

THIS Council consisted of Baron Goreannilli, an Italian, the Inquisitorial Justiciary—Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperofo, President of the Academy of letters; and the chevalier Don Georgio Buticartny, a Polish knight; admitted as a secretary, *not a minister*.—Don Antonio, the Preceden-
za,

† See the last Letter in this volume.

za,——Don John Alnagero, Prime Advocate,——
Don Philip the Moor, and Don Godfredo Lilly,
Solicitor of the Crown.

BEFORE this great assembly did Sancho open this mighty project of his soul.——He spoke to them, through the mouth of Don Philip, and informed them, “ in the first place, *of the success of his Majesty's bribes all over the island.*——He told “ them of his determination to call the Assemblies “ *before himself*——as a means of degrading the “ Commons, and asserting the authority of his own “ *protest.* That it would be an experiment without hazard: as it was not the season for asking “ any thing *on his part*——and the virtue of a pro- “ rogation was ever at hand, to prevent any acquisition in behalf of the people. That as things “ stood at present, it appeared improbable, that “ the Spanish Court would continue *him* in the “ government of the Island, when the critical “ time should come, in which the army and the “ revenues were to be negotiated in the Cortes, “ unless he were to exhibit some antecedent explanations of his prowess——That the success “ of this short convention might render probable “ his retaining the dominion of the island for another year. But above all, that the manly Protest “ with which he concluded the last meeting, was “ not perfect, or consummate, being as yet the declaration of *one of the parties only*, and rejected “ from the journals of the other.——Whereas,
“ if

“ if the Commons could be *brought* to pour out
“ their incense, and load him with *encomiums*; it
“ would be deemed, that they relinquished their
“ claims with their resentments; and their conduct
“ would imply not merely an *acquiescence*, but a formal
“ *ratification* of the charge, which he boasted
“ to have brought against them.—Moreover, that
“ the great Count Loftonzo was deeply impressed
“ with those sentiments.—And that if promises, without limitation, recommended by
“ oaths, and confirmed by *some* performances, were
“ capable of seducing the heart of man, a majority
“ should be procured to deliver up this fortress
“ into the hands of the Crown.—And finally
“ that Don Renaldo, the grand Corregidor of the
“ capital, was devoted to the interests of the Court;
“ and would easily obtain from the oppidary assembly,
“ an address to the Sovereign, petitioning
“ for a general convention of the States.—And
“ at the same time, the faithful Renaldo should
“ have a precaution, by the tenor of this address,
“ to renounce every constitutional title in the people
“ to the Cortes.—That it should be asked as
“ a *favour*, and not a right.—that it should
“ be *supplication*, and not *claim*.—Thus the meeting
“ of the Senate, which would really be a political
“ experiment, and a probable confirmation
“ of the bondage of Barataria, would be trumpeted
“ through the kingdom, as if it were a gracious
“ benevolence, yielded to the petition of duty—a
“ royal concession to the wishes of the people.”

WHATEVER

WHATEVER different pursuits, or objects in life, may have governed the sentiments of the several persons who composed this conclave, certain it is, that there were scarcely one of them, who had not an interest in the assembling of the Cortes, at all events. It would be the harvest, and they were labourers——It would be the *time of service*; and, though their *Standing Wages* were exorbitant, yet did they moreover expect to receive *daily hire*, and *occasional booty*.——The servants of the law might be appointed itinerant justices, but suffered neither to travel, nor to judge——In short, to do no part of the duty, but accept the emolument; and Baron Goreannelli, the Italian, imagined, that by *being ready* to assist the prolocutor of the nobles, he might perhaps ground a sort of claim to wages, though his services were neither demanded, performed, or expedient.

AMONGST those Chiefs of consultation, one only gave counsel against this favourite measure——Don Antonio, the Precedenza; a man of great consideration!——And indeed it is impossible to mention that personage in the page of history, without stopping to make some observation on so extraordinary a character.

NATURE had enriched the Precedenza with great endowments——To a benign and dignified aspect, an address, both conciliating and authoritative, did he join the clearest head that ever conceived,
and

and the sweetest tongue that ever uttered, the suggestions of wisdom. He did not, it is true, possess the wit and vivacity of Alnagero, nor the political craft, or worldly science, of Don Philip, the Moor ; but his understanding was of the first magnitude.—It is however observable of Don Antonio, that, with all those eminent faculties, he never, during the course of a long political life, was united with a party that did not deceive him ; and with a temper of mind, unfortunately but too desirous of acquisition, did he share less of the public treasure than almost any man, who had ever looked for favours at the hand of power. For some part of his life, he filled one of the highest offices in judgment ; which he executed with such ability, as stands unparalleled in the records of judicature. And as he was raised to that office *for his capacity*, he was dispossessed of it *for his virtue*. With a manly and becoming spirit did Antonio, at this time, stand foremost, in difference with the Crown. He *disputed* that wicked encroachment, which would strip the representative of the community of their natural and indispensable rights of *originating, adjusting, and proportioning*, those supplies, which are ever the free-will gifts of gratitude and love, to protection and government.—Though this act of *Resistance*, as it was called, did not fall within the exercise of his *judicial capacity*, yet as it was an act of *integrity*, it was thought by the Court as a disqualification

disqualification in him for the office of a Judge. —He was therefore dismissed, and a man *better qualified* was appointed to succeed him.

AND here should we be happy, if, for the honour of human nature, and the reverence we bear to this illustrious person, we were permitted to pass over the recital of some features, which render this piece less admirable! —Happy! if the eminent qualities of this great man did not mix with others in their current, which were sufficient to humble his superiority, and gratify the malice of his enemies. —But *Character* would be uninstruative to posterity, if it were not to be *fully* delineated; and history a falsehood, if it declare not the whole truth.

THOUGH the effects of an enlightened understanding made Antonio perpetually prefer right to wrong. —Though he had no children to provide for, and already enjoyed considerable estates, —Nay, even though some authors have asserted, that he had not the avarice of accumulation, and certainly he had not the necessities of prodigality, —Though he had the mines of Golconda in the practice of his profession, yet did he descend from his eminence of character and condition, to the exercise of a low money-traffick; in which he is even accused by the writers of his day, (influenced perhaps by the fervour of the time, and the acrimony

mony of publick disappointment) of having employed that very legal knowledge, which had lately been the honour of his name, and the benefit of his country, in order to defend the bills that he issued, from the controul of the laws, and frustrate the security which the publick had in his counter—Afterwards having made some atonement to his country by a spirited resistance to the cabinet subsidy, he, as it were, relented of his reformation—and having *submitted* to accept from Government, a *precedency*, which Nature had given him before, and which the King could not take from him, he, in the popular assembly, and in the face of the people, not only embraced, but adopted the very child, he before declared to be illegitimate, and infamous. He now protected that subsidy in the Cortes, which he before had so signally abjured in the cabinet.

AND indeed, it was matter of great wonder at that time, that a person of his wisdom should so suddenly shift an opinion—That one of his dignity of character should adopt inconsistency and degradation—and that a man of the most unparalleled powers of memory should so speedily forget the injuries he had received.

As for his eloquence, it was in its nature peculiar. It flowed in a clear and copious stream, with grace and majesty; but it never

K

diversified

diversified its course, or transgressed its limited boundary.—Through the several regions of argument, it moved with unaltered current, whether it passed through the wilds of America, or the flowery plains of Andalusia :—Good sense, and great comprehension, were the characters of his mind, rather than that strength, and ardour, and variety, which glow in the performances of the antient orators.—He was formed to be the First, perhaps, in times of tranquillity, but must have yielded to several, in the days of spirit and of enterprize.—In short, he was a person almost always to be admired, but never much to be feared.

AND, indeed, various inconsistencies and irreconcilable qualities, seemed to mix in the character of this great man. It is not enough to say, that he had a mind superior to revenge, or personal resentment;—He appeared to have been inspired, as it were, with gratitude for injuries.—As to his legal knowledge, it was incontrovertible; yet, from some peculiarity which ever attended him, certain it is, that even the titles at law, to the very lands he purchased, have been reckoned disputable and precarious.—With the best understanding, he was generally the dupe of the worst; and tho' he had a natural admiration for virtue, yet did he sometimes forsake her, even without temptation.

HERE we rest this great character!—And we should rejoice indeed, if historical fidelity had not compelled

compelled us to state some shades of it, at which humanity may drop a tear of sympathy; and lament that imperfection of our nature, which ever controuls the arrogance of superiority, and vindicates, in some measure, the equality of man.

DON ANTONIO was marked, it is true, by some of the infirmities of human-kind, but he was distinguished, on the other hand, by great and admirable qualities. Let not then the insolence of human frailty refuse forgiveness to the former; and may posterity remember *only* the *latter*, and remember them *as objects of imitation!*

DON ANTONIO paid the utmost attention to the whole recital of Sancho's politicks. And, indeed, amongst the several peculiarities of Antonio, this one was observable,——“That as no man ever spoke so well as to excite his admiration, so no man ever spoke so ill as that he did not think him worthy of attention.” He listened profoundly to the discourse of every man; he listened to the sleepy tale of Don Philip the Moor.

WHEN this elaborate recapitulation of principles and politicks was brought to a conclusion, Don Antonio did not require much time for weighing its import, and consequences.——He saw clearly, that the rashness of Sancho was not courage, nor the craft of Don Philip wisdom.——He thought the convention of the Cortes, *at that particular time,*

was liable to objections, which would occur, perhaps, at no other season.—He therefore gave counsel against it.—He observed, “ that though the
“ populace frequently misjudge, the great body of
“ the people are not often, or long, deceived.—
“ that in the present occasion, they never would be
“ persuaded, that the convening this assembly a
“ few months only before the regular and indispensable season of convention, after it had been
“ interrupted in the midst of business, and discontinued for above a year, was any other than *an*
“ *act of state policy*.—That the mere power of
“ reviving or continuing a few laws, without time
“ or opportunity to alter or amend them, was in
“ truth a small national concern—Especially as
“ this meeting would interfere with the itinerary
“ progress of justice, and the season of the great
“ session was so near at hand, in which there must
“ be ample time afforded for all that enquiry and
“ deliberation, which alone could give weight and
“ authority to laws.—That the very assembling
“ of the states would in itself terminate the duration of several laws, which would otherwise remain
“ in force.—That if the court were to be victorious,
“ the nation would be alarmed,—and if the popular party were to predominate, those laws
“ would become extinct, and Administration would
“ be overturned.—That to call the assembly together, in order to appropriate the disposition of
“ that sum, which had formerly been granted to
“ public works, would now be absurd ; as the money
“ ney

“ney was not in existence, at least in the exche-
 “quer ; and that, tho’ the States were to grant it,
 “yet the Crown could not pay it.—And above all,
 “that this extorted convention, as it would be
 “thought, must certainly revive amongst the repre-
 “sentative body, that bitter argument, with
 “which they had departed, but not departed in
 “peace.—That if the accustomed offerings
 “of the Cortes to the throne, should not convey
 “*encomium on the Governor*, Sancho would be de-
 “graded—If they did, they would impeach them-
 “selves.—But that at all events, those matters of
 “delicacy were best decided by oblivion.—More-
 “over, that the treasury was entirely exhausted ;
 “and therefore he knew not by what means the
 “Governor could purchase the support he expected,
 “excepting by promises.—That if those pro-
 “mises were performed, the slender resources of
 “government would be wasted.—If they were
 “broken, the credit of power would be lost.—
 “That experiment in those weighty concerns was
 “dangerous.—The best result is *Tumult* ; the
 “worst *Destruction*.—That if his recommenda-
 “tory speech from the throne of majesty were to
 “disclaim supplies, it would contradict the neces-
 “sities of the state ; if it *professed* them, the peo-
 “ple would say, they never were to be assembled,
 “but to be plundered ; and if it were to be equi-
 “vocal, it would offend all parties. The Crown
 “would resent his casting a doubt on the necessity ;
 “the nation would resent his casting a fraud on their
 “security.

“ —That though it was an hopeless project to attempt pleasing all parties, it was yet exceedingly unwise to satisfy none.” —Thus, in substance, did the Precedenza argue with the thoughtless — and counsel the determined. — Sancho seemed to have accidentally heard *a part* of this harangue, and answered *the whole* of it with his usual precision. — He observed, “ That every sentence, “ which had fallen from the lips of Antonio, was “ the language of wisdom — That his argument “ was the argument of conviction ; and that he “ would accordingly appoint the assemblage of the “ Cortes, for the twenty-sixth day of the next “ moon.” He extolled his eloquence, and observed, “ That it brought back to his mind the remembrance of a dear departed brother ” but here he instantly wiped away a tear, that Nature had rashly engendered, and inadvertency tolerated ; and yielded himself to the current of his mind, which ever flowed towards untimely merriment. — He observed, “ that General Antonio (for so he “ was pleased jocularly to call him) had oftentimes “ differed from him in the *Court Martial* — That “ he had frequently counselled against hazarding “ an engagement, yet, had however behaved like “ a good old soldier in the day of battle ; though “ his hand did not, *at all times*, strike with the “ vigour of youth — yet he never failed to promote obedience and good discipline, and maintain order and government, by his countenance “ and example.”

To

To these arguments Don Antonio paid that reverence which is due to wisdom ; that submission which is yielded to power. Several other members were preparing to deliver their sentiments at large, and pay the debt, which they owed *to their own fortunes*, by recommending that purpose, which omnipotence had already decided. And certain it is, that when Sancho had once taken his unalterable determination, though counsel seemed to become less necessary, it, however, became much more pleasant to him to receive it, and advantageous to him who had the discretion to offer it. For when the Chief has once *explained* his sentiments, there can no longer remain doubt or debate amongst the counsellors.—Then stern advice assumes the softer breath of compliment ; and the discharge of duty is nothing more than the effusions of admiration, and panegyrick. And, indeed, tho' no office is in general more doubtfully received than that of giving counsel, yet the man is for ever recommended by some secret magick, who turns back, on the person he advises, the reflected image of his own thoughts and affections.

DON JOHN ALNAGERO, the prime advocate, being a man of a ready and dexterous wit, and a copious vocabulary, arose to make an offering of his sentiments on the occasion ; and after having administered to his Infirmary *a cordial*, which he retained in a dram-bottle, *for the purposes of debate, according to precedent of first authority* ; he

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proceeded.

proceeded to state the great *importance* of the question under consideration:—And it is generally imagined he would have made a very eloquent speech, had he not been violently interrupted by a sudden outrage of vociferation, which issued even from the throne of Vice-majesty—scattering through the chambers a strange confusion of mixed sounds, but articulating, distinct, and intelligible, two words only; namely, *Protest* and *Prorogation*.

ALNAGERO, to whose ears, it is true, these sounds never conveyed musick, intreated, “that his
 “Highness would not revive those obsolete, and
 “invidious topicks, but leave them to the chances
 “of time, and discussion of posterity!”—For, to bear the testimony of justice to Alnagero, we must confess, that he was not amongst those to whom right and wrong were indifferent.—For, if it were possible to unite publick principles with *great private emolument*, it was ever his wish to bear them company.—He besought the Governor,
 “to proceed on the business which at that time
 “so properly engaged their wisdom—not the
 “*death* or *disgrace*, but the *revival* of the great
 “assembly of the people.”—Amongst the several difficulties which Sancho had encountered in his government, no one was *to his feelings* so great, as that of suppressing the extravagant laughter, which the gravity of Alnagero’s discourse had now excited in him.—As soon as he had discharged from his countenance somewhat of his untimely merriment,

ment, he apologized (according to his fashion) to the Prime Advocate for the interruptions he had occasioned ; but assured him, “ that nothing could “ be farther from his wish than any renewal of de- “ bate on those ridiculous topicks ; and that if the “ Cortes, when they assemble, should say nothing to “ him on the subject of them, he should, on his “ part, observe the same constitutional delicacy “ and silence.—That indeed *Protest* and *Proroga- “ tion*, were only the names he had given to two “ favourite *Catalonian Beagles*, which had lately “ been sent to him from his estates in that pro- “ vince. That though he had always the greatest “ pleasure in listening to the speeches of Alnagero, “ yet as he felt an invincible desire of shewing “ those beagles to the Baron Goreanelli (who was “ not only a *Judge* but a *sportsman*, accomplished “ alike for the cabinet and the field) he very “ ardently wished, that the prime advocate should “ postpone the remainder of his most *excellent* “ speech (for excellent he was sure it would have “ been, had he spoken it) to another opportunity ; “ and therefore in his canine zeal he certainly “ had, in a manner rather abrupt than otherwise, “ called upon the Scythian Cunningambo, *Licentiate* “ *in Medicine*, and superintendant of his dogs, his “ mules, and his children, to introduce the beagles “ into the Council Chamber, just at the time in “ which he began the very eloquent speech, in “ which he had the honour to interrupt him.—

ALNAGERO at first *doubted* of the *decorum* of Sancho in this transaction ; and well remembering from the record of history, that a tyrant, who *laughed at decency, and despised the people*, did once confer magistracy on his horse, he began to entertain a jealous apprehension, lest some *monstrous* promotion might be intended for those dogs of Catalonia ; and therefore with great humility observed, “ That it was a duty incidental to the high
 “ legal trust with which he was invested, to inform
 “ his Highness, that, tho’ it might in general
 “ be very proper that those, who contributed to
 “ the pleasures of government, should hold the
 “ highest condition in the state, yet he must offer it
 “ as his opinion, that no person of the human species, or otherwise, can be appointed of the Board
 “ of Council, without a previous order for that purpose, under the Monarch’s *manual signature*. And
 “ that he apprehended the present king of Spain,
 “ notwithstanding his great condescension in this
 “ particular, had not *yet* appointed any *Quadrupede*
 “ of his cabinet, within the circuit of his whole
 “ dominions ; though it was well known, the
 “ princess dowager of Naples, his mother, was
 “ *partial* to a Calidonian Goat ; and the admirable princess, his consort, had *almost an affection*
 “ for a beautiful Zebra.

SANCHO, who was *playing with his cheek* during this harangue, when it was concluded, winked at the Italian nobleman, and called again aloud
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for *the Beagles* ; at the same time directing the Chevalier Buticartny to issue forthwith the letters of convention, and hasten the licentiate with the whelps of Catalonia.

GOREANELLI, not insensible to glory, was flattered—Bumperoso laughed heartily, as he was wont on such occasions——Don Antonio did not observe the joke—Don Alnagero was distressed, and looked lively—Don Philip the Moor looked dismal, but *felt* not the least concern—and as for Don Godfredo Lilly, he was entirely employed in speculation on the *probable* disgust of Alnagero, which might open a door to his own promotion ; whilst the whelps were introduced by the Doctor into the Chamber of Consultation.

WHEN the assembly was dissolved, various were the inferences which the several members drew from the whole transaction, respecting the dogs of Catalonia.—In this, however, they entertained *in general* a similarity of sentiment——“ That as each of them (Antonio excepted) saw, that the joke of Sancho was exceedingly pleasant, so far as it concerned *the rest* of the conclave——yet, when he measured it by the relation, in which it stood towards *himself*, he discovered in this *general* jocularity, some want of *especial* respect.”

AND here let us not be accused by the supercilious wisdom of unalterable gravity, for having degraded

graded the solemnity of record by the relation of occurrences, light and frivolous!——For where the frivolous have empire, their annals will be levity.——And indeed nothing is low, if it be natural; nor is any thing unobservable to the historian, that tends to unfold or explain the character of man. Here the deepest political experiment was decided; though consultation was despised——though the counsel was not given——though the speeches were yet unspoken——But the Viceroy, in the chambers of gravity at least, exhibited his beagles to the Justiciary of the land.

DON Alexandro Cuningambo del Tweedalero, Licentiate in medicine, withdrew the beagles of Catalonia from the Chambers of Consultation; and the business of the day was ended.—Sancho, having dispatched all these weighty concerns in the space of one morning, thought the evening his own—and dedicated it accordingly to festivity and pleasure.—He flew to the Fandango of Rafarmo; where the wonted jocularities of Francisco del Bumperoso defended him from the *slumber* of Loftonzo, and the bright refinement of the lovely Dorothea threw a pious shade over the unpolished confidence of her aunt, the countess.

WHAT the mysteries of the evening, or the reflections of the morning were, it is not within the province of history to relate.—But certain it is, they all departed, satisfied with their repast; and
either

either the love, the gratitude, or the artifice of Sancho, in return for so great compliances, appointed apartments, even in the vice-royal palace, for the reception of the countess and the lovely Monrofo, wherein to adjust and reconcile the violences of travel, whensoever Dorothea should be led forth from the fields, to grace the carousals of the King of the island.

THE convention of the states being now a matter decided, Sancho was again to play off the whole artillery of seduction.—The virtuous were displaced,—The timorous were threatened,—The public-spirited were ridiculed,—The simple had promises,—The corrupt were bribed,—The credulous were betrayed,—And all were to be undone.——And indeed, the subordinate instruments employed in this great negotiation were so curious, that some of them at least deserve commemoration in these records.—At that time fortune had shipwrecked on her native land, the old lady, Donna Lavinia Del St. Legero ; and so extravagant were the essays of corruption in those days, that policy condescended to *retain* even this obsolete instrument of seduction. However capable in general of those powers of *procuring*, incidental to her sex and condition, yet that she should be competent to procure suffrages in the Cortes, seemed a matter, indeed, of improbable conjecture !—But the result frequently disappoints the speculation.

DONNA

DONNA Lavinia was indeed a very extraordinary person to have figured on the stage of politicks. She was the child of middling condition, and had received her education amidst the ferocity of Baratarian-Bœotia. She had been given in marriage by her parents to the Chevalier St. Legero, a Judge ; who, from the intermixture of the Spaniards with the Moors, had an opportunity of enriching his nature (tho' by a spurious stream) with the blood of the great Muli Ishmael ; and the sanguinary exploits of his judicature were confirmations of his illustrious original. Thus it happened, that the *clemency* of the husband, and the *chastity* of the wife, became the symbols of proverbial description. Donna Lavinia managed her qualifications with notable dexterity.—In her youth, without beauty, she had Lovers—and in her age, without rank or reputation, she enjoyed the society of the Great. A certain *warmth*, and *constitutional cordiality*, was the charm of her early days—the most *indulgent accommodation* recommended her riper years, and there was one circumstance which rendered her society for ever easy ; which was, “ That the example of her youth never overawed the most licentious into reserve, and the compliances of her age made her kind to the frailties of her friends.”—She had not even the rigours of hypocrisy—but had an heart to pity, and an house to receive, the *pinning votaries of Love*. She did not possess any thing like address, or courtly manners ; but there was a certain stateliness about her, that
might

might have been the growth of antient fashion, and at sometimes a familiarity, that was to resemble the condescension of high rank and quality. If she was no longer the *object*, she was glad to be the *instrument*, of pleasure.—And on her bosom every friend and every foe might confidentially repose the secret infirmities of unresisting nature. Not that she was possessed of any supernatural fidelity, or felt the glow of friendship in her sympathies——But she gave her own life and conversation, as hostages for her secrecy. And moreover, to strengthen this security, though she had no great regard to moral obligation, she always affected the greatest respect for all manner of decorum ; inso-much, that, to whatever she said or did, she assumed a motive of decency. If, at any time, it has happened to her to have dwelt too long on the goblet, and protracted the banquet beyond convivial moderation ; “ she was thereto compelled by medical counsel ; merely to combat, by that severe regimen, some inward malady, or bodily dis-ease ! ”——If, peradventure, she has at any time flown, with *critical precipitation*, from her most private apartments, and left them to the sole occupation of two friends, whose only difference was their sex, at one of those dangerous moments, in which love grows too powerful for discretion, and female imbecility *not unwillingly* confesses the athletick superiority of man——if ever she has done so, “ she was either forced away by sudden occasions, and indispenfible business——or she entertained

“tertained so great a disapprobation of those tendernesses, which malice may call criminal, that she would not afford them the countenance of her presence, but had withdrawn to leave them a silent reproach.”

HOWEVER, certain it is, that Donna Lavinia, in Madrid, for many years maintained a palace, not only of *ease*, but of order. Her publick demeanour was seemly, and she always attended public worship; to pray for the King and the royal family; for which act of devotion, Ferdinand III. (being a very pious prince——resembling his royal predecessor, Philip I. in his piety——his conjugal fidelity——his principles of government——his troubles, and his catastrophe) gave her a pension of five hundred crowns on the exchequer of Barataria; which liberality she repayed by the only recompence the chastity of Ferdinand afforded her——by the most religious resignation to the divine will of the Sovereign.

DONNA Lavinia had a brother and a nephew, who were senators of Barataria——The father was *age* and *infirmity*——the son was *filial obedience*. To the former then, her brother, she applied with all her powers of seduction——She had not, it is true, the *personal charms* of the daughter of Lot, but she had the same powers of intoxication.

THREE

THREE days and three nights did the sparkling goblet, recommended by the participation of Lavinia, visit the lips of Don Richardo, her brother ; and so long did he refuse the suit of her solicitation. The fourth day came, and found Richardo still within the empire of wine ! Lavinia, being regent, then entered into an alliance even with the virtues of Richardo against himself. She bade him “ to serve his sister, by doubling her pension—She “ bade him serve his posterity, by placing the royal “ standard in the hands of his grandson—For these “ things, and greater, were determinable by the “ conduct of Don Richardo and his son, in the assembly of the people.”

RICHARDO yielded—The old senator and his son were led into captivity—The promises were unperformed—and the excellent young man, shortly after, paid the forfeit of his life to the seductions of a parent.

LETTER

LETTER XXV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

Oct. 24, 1771.

I HAPPENED the other day to meet with a Speech which was lately pronounced by the doughty Governor of Barataria; it is, indeed, a most extraordinary curiosity, but, as it is written in *Court Language*, it is unintelligible to the generality of people. As I have, by the dint of severe study, made myself tolerable master of that crabbed jargon, I thought I could not oblige my countrymen more, than by attempting a translation of this wonderful speech, which I have at length effected. I have, therefore, sent it to you, that it may be communicated to the publick, thro' the channel of your paper: It is as literal as the different idioms of the two languages would admit; but they so widely differ in some points, that it is impossible to explain the one by the other, except by paraphrase.

I am, Sir,

Your friend, and

Occasional Correspondent

N. Y.

A SPEECH, PRONOUNCED BY THE GOVERNOR OF
BARATARIA, AT THE OPENING OF THE COR-
TES; IN THE ORIGINAL COURT LANGUAGE.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY experience of your attachment to his Majesty's person, and of your zeal for the publick service, affords me the best grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part, to co-operate with his Majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare, and happiness of this kingdom; and when to this consideration I add the remembrance of your kind regard to the ease and honour of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the present opportunity which his Majesty has given me of meeting you a fourth time in parliament.

* THE present prospect of public affairs seems to afford you the fullest opportunity for deliberation on such subjects, as immediately relate to your own domestick happiness, I must therefore recommend to your consideration, whatever tends to promote and strengthen the interior police of this kingdom, and such laws as may be salutary and for the benefit of the lower orders of the community, for these have ever been found the most effectual means of binding their affections to their country,

country, and securing their allegiance to one common parent.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

As in assembling you together in the last session it was not his Majesty's purpose to ask supplies, but solely to comply with the wishes of his people, it was not thought proper, to call upon you, at that time, for any further aid. But as in the ordinary course it becomes necessary to provide for the expences of the ensuing two years, your last grants being nearly expired, I have no doubt of your turning your thoughts to that important subject, and of your granting such supplies, as shall be found necessary for the honourable and firm support of his Majesty's government, for the security of this kingdom, and for the maintenance of the publick credit.

* I have ordered the proper estimates and accounts to be laid before you; from which you will find, not only that the revenue has fallen considerably short of former years, but that the deductions made there-from for payment of different grants for premiums, bounties, and public works, have been so very great, that it has not been nearly sufficient to defray the charges of his Majesty's establishments and other necessary expences of Government, and that a larger arrear has been incurred on that account. If such grants are judged proper
to

to be continued, either for these, or other publick, uses, you will observe it is impossible that the revenue, as it now stands, can answer those services, and also the support of government: I therefore think it incumbent on me to recommend this subject to your most serious consideration.

* It is with concern that I must ask a sum of money to discharge the arrears already incurred on his Majesty's establishments, but you will find that they have been unavoidable, for that the strictest œconomy has been used, not only in the charges of the late augmentation, upon which a very large saving has been made, but in the reduction of the Staff, which is now diminished to the number directed by his Majesty.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE birth of another Prince is such an addition to his Majesty's happiness and our security, that it must afford us the truest satisfaction.

* It is my indispensable duty to recommend particularly whatever interests the protestant religion. There can be no provision in its favour, which shall tend to carry into execution the good effects of that important law, for limiting the duration of Parliament, and are at the same time consistent with the principles of humanity, and the natural rights
of

of mankind, which shall not have my hearty concurrence.

THE illegal associations, and audacious outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the North, deserve your most serious attention; they are as destructive to commerce, as disgraceful to liberty.

THE wisdom of former Parliaments, and the affection of my predecessors in this high station for your interests, have uniformly co-operated in support of your charter-schools and your linen manufacture: I am persuaded our zeal for these natural objects will equal theirs.

HIS Majesty has the firmest reliance on your loyalty and duty, and is persuaded that your proceedings will be no less consistent with your own dignity than with the true interest of your country. For my part, I have resided so long amongst you, that I trust it will be needless for me to make any new declarations to you of my attachment and affection.

P. S. THOSE paragraphs marked thus (*) are extremely obscure; however, by much pains and labour, I extorted the meaning, though, I do not doubt,

doubt, but there may be still some mystery left unravelled in them.

THE GOVERNOR OF BARATARIA'S SPEECH
TRANSLATED INTO PLAIN ENGLISH.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY experience of your intire devotion to the Ministry, and of your mean regards to your own private interests, affords me the best grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part, to co-operate with the said Ministry's gracious intentions of completing the poverty and misery of this kingdom; and when to this consideration I add the remembrance of the abject compliments you paid to the oppressive and dishonourable practices of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the opportunity which the Ministry has given me of insulting the nation a fourth time in Parliament.

THE present prospect of the national calamities is thought by your turbulent constituents to furnish you with the strongest reasons for a strict inquiry into those misdemeanours, which have been destructive of your internal happiness; I must therefore strictly charge you to consider of nothing but what may tend to promote the prerogative in this kingdom,

kingdom, which is to be effected by enacting such laws as may be a proper curb upon the lower orders of the community, for these have ever been found the most effectual means of preventing these wretches from engaging in any struggles for liberty, and awing them into allegiance to one despotick Lord.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

As in that mere farce of your last mock-session, it was not the Ministry's purpose to ask supplies, but ostentatiously to make a parade of their majority in each house, it was not thought politick to call upon you, at that time, for any further aid ; but as in the ordinary course, it is now become absolutely necessary to provide for the many expensive jobbs of the ensuing two years, your last grants being totally squandered away, I have no doubt of your obeying my mandate upon that important subject, and of your granting such supplies, as shall be found necessary for the honourable and firm support of the Ministry's authority, for the depression of this kingdom, and for the discharge of the wages of iniquity to those tools of power, who are the instruments employed for its ruin.

I HAVE ordered the proper estimates and accounts to be laid before you, from which you will find,

find not that only that the revenue has been more countably embezzled than in former years, but that those mortifying deductions made therefrom for the payment of your damned grants for premiums, bounties and public works, have so plaguily cramped us, that it has not been nearly sufficient to defray the charge of the Ministry's negotiations, the corruption of members, the payment of pensions, and other necessary expences of the Court; and that many large promises have been necessarily made, in consequence of this deficiency. If such grants however be thought politick to be continued, either for these or other publick uses, you will observe that it is impossible that the revenue, as it now stands, can answer those services, and also the support of the Ministry's schemes. I therefore have received directions, just to give you a hint of those matters, as I am confident you will very readily see that some new fund, such as a land tax, or something of that nature, is absolutely necessary, if it were only to bribe those poor drudges among yourselves, who do all the dirty work.

I MUST acknowledge that even I myself could scarcely muster up effrontery sufficient to ask a sum of money to discharge the debts I have incurred in jobbing for the Ministry; but my experience of your folly and venality soon put shame to flight, though, (between ourselves) I strove to bring up

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those heavy charges as well as I could, partly by some cunning tricks in regard to the augmentation, and partly by the reduction of the staff, by which I put a considerable sum into my own pocket, and at the same time imposed it upon the world as oeconomy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

DRAW up a congratulatory address to his Majesty upon the birth of another Prince.

IT is, I know, a thing of course, to recommend the support of the protestant interest; however, I chuse to speak in its favour, merely because I am thereby enabled to remind you of my very important services in procuring the law for limiting the duration of Parliaments; to tell the truth, as I am quite indifferent about any religion, I can only say, that as far as the protestant religion may be consistent with the principles of the Earl of Bute, and the natural interest of despotism, it shall have my hearty concurrence.

IT will help to forward the designs of the Ministry, if you make a mighty bustle about those few tenants in the North, who have presumed to murmur against their landlords. No complaints from such wretches must be attended to, however justified by the most shameless oppressions; on the contrary,

contrary, every attempt towards publishing their grievances, must be interpreted riot, and rebellion, as this artful construction may afford a good pretext for a *new augmentation*, which will effectually put a period to the expiring liberty of this kingdom.

THE folly of former Parliaments, and the indifference of my predecessors for the interest of this kingdom, have never produced any other recommendation for its service, but the support of the charter-schools, and the linen manufacture.— For my part, I shall not pretend to out-do those, who went before me.

THE Ministry have very good reasons to rely most firmly on your ready submission to their will and pleasure, and are persuaded that all your proceedings will be influenced by a pitiful regard to your own private advantage, without the smallest consideration of the true interest of your country.— For my own part, as, I have resided so long among you, I am very confident that I am *better known than trusted*, so it would be looked upon as a banter, if I should pretend to make any declaration of my love or attachment to this country.

LETTER XXVI.

TO THE GOVERNOUR OF BARATARIA.

MY LORD,

Nov. 30, 1771.

IT is with great concern I have been obliged to lay before his Majesty, the state of your Excellency's administration in the kingdom of Ireland; which now appears to be entirely different, as to strength and credit, from that, which you gave his Majesty reason to expect, from the course of intelligence you have been pleased to transmit to the Ministry from time to time.

YOUR Excellency, on the conclusion of the last short session of parliament, left Government supported by a majority in the house of Commons, exceeding the number of forty—and we had no reason to doubt, that this majority would have increased under any Administration, possessed either of capacity to reconcile the discontented, or even of temper and decorum sufficient to defend itself from the new disgusts, which seem at present to have alienated the most zealous of it's supporters. This might naturally have been expected, without exerting the extreme resources of Government. But
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his Majesty cannot avoid observing the unusual number of offices, which casualty has thrown into your Excellency's disposal—Moreover, that his Royal indulgence has complied with your requisitions for new appointments, in number great beyond example—in expence alarming, and in utility doubtful at best.—That all the concessions made to your predecessors, for twenty years together, have not equalled, in amount, those, which have been yielded to your Excellency in six months.—That you have been gratified with full powers, not only to reward your friends, but punish your enemies, by depriving them of the offices they enjoyed for many years under the crown;—and with all those powers you amused his Majesty with an account, that you had established yourself with power invincible; that the aristocracy was broken, opposition at an end, and that you were ready to meet the parliament, with perfect security to his Majesty's honour and government. The result, however, has been total disappointment; and his Majesty cannot but observe with astonishment, the wonderful misapplication of so great powers, which has conferred nothing but weakness and disgrace on your administration—For your majority in the house of Commons on the first day of this session, merely in favour of a common matter of form, was diminished, as I have been informed, to about twenty six. That on points, which heretofore used to be decided almost by unanimity, you have indeed been victorious, but only by a majority of nine, or five.—

In *other matters* you have yielded, compromised, or capitulated ; but that, in every *great* and *capital* question, you have been *beaten* by a great superiority. But above all, I cannot avoid expressing to your Excellency his Majesty's resentment, at your having so far deceived him, as in the first place to recommend it to him to sign his letters positive, directing new boards of immense expence to be instituted, which you knew, or ought to have known, could not be carried into execution, without first obtaining a law, which lies in the power of parliament ; and which law it seems, is contrary to the sense of parliament, and therefore beyond your power to obtain. Thus the royal name has been brought into disgrace, by the counsel which induced his Majesty to direct, that a thing should *positively* be done, which could not *properly* be done without a new law ; the obtaining of which law was always doubtful, and now appears impracticable.—In forming this scheme, you did not consult the King's servants, the officers of the revenue, or the finances of the country ; but rashly induced the authority of the King's name to a measure, that the nation disliked ; the revenues were unequal to, and the laws, as they now stand, could not admit—Though your Excellency were ever so much enamoured with the station, or gratified by the emolument, of high office, you should not, however, have continued to hold it under the manifest hazard of the King's honour, and the dignity of government.—But I must observe the
little

little grounds you had to expect that easy and honourable session of parliament with the hopes of which you flattered the Ministry. By some peculiarity of management in your dealing with the friends of Government, you have, I know not how, rendered them cold and unwilling supporters in parliament ; whilst you have made your opponents, zealous, active, and united, against you. Not one of the King's servants, not even your own secretary, can be brought to acknowledge you, or your measures, in parliament ;—and scarcely ever speak but in order to vindicate themselves from any participation in your councils, or confidence. And trust me, my lord, if you don't, in some degree, conciliate the affections of those who serve Government, you will derive but a very imperfect support from a cold, reluctant, or silent suffrage. After squandering away the immense bounties, with which you have been furnished, on persons incapable of serving you, you stand at present with the boast of a poor, tottering majority ;—doubtful, discontented, and unfriendly ;—and when you depart, will leave a body of opposition behind you, that the kingdom you govern never saw equalled, and which, perhaps, no future wisdom may be able to reconcile ; and above all, you have recorded a public memorial of your misrepresentations to his Majesty, in the address of the Commons, condemning the new boards, which you thought proper to recommend to his Majesty's adoption.

L E T T E R XXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

Dec. 4, 1771.

HAVING seen lord North's letter to the Governour of Barataria, I was determined, if possible, to see the answer, and accordingly availing myself of invisibility, took my stand at his elbow ; upon examining my tablets, I send you an exact copy thereof. Quod Testor.

BEELZEBUB.

LORD TOWNSHEND'S ANSWER TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour of your lordship's letter, which I esteem the more, as it came much sooner than I expected, having in general great reason to complain, that the dispatches, which I have sent from time to time, during my administration, and recommended to your lordship to be laid before his Majesty, have met with such unaccountable delays, as have laid me under very singular difficulties. I beg leave to observe, my lord, that it is utterly impossible, even for a person

son of your known penetration and judgment, to form even the most distant knowledge of the difficulties I have had to encounter with, during my residence in this *here* country ; otherwise, I flatter myself, I should not have fallen under the multiplied censures of your last letter. A scheme was adopted in the cabinet, to abolish the usual mode of government here ; lord Bristol was appointed for the purpose of putting this in execution : but I presume, my lord, he found upon enquiry, that the temper of the people was so extremely averse to this measure, and himself so extremely unfit for the undertaking, (having some vices so very odious, and being deficient in others so very necessary to render himself agreeable to the country) that he was soon induced to lay aside his design ; and immediately after he had availed himself of the emoluments of the lieutenancy, so far as to provide the necessary apparatus on the occasion, he caught at the first lucrative post in the state, and left the execution of the plan to more hardy adventurers.

I FLATTER myself, my lord, that a person of less fortitude than myself, would soon have yielded to the opposition I met with ; and the loss of that support I might naturally have expected from my brother Charles, would have been a very justifiable reason for my abdication of the government of Ireland. But, my lord, that zeal, which I have ever manifested for his Majesty's service, yielded not to the many obstacles I could enumerate, and which I

have occasionally represented to the Ministry. I did not expect, my lord, that I should have been left to battle with the parliament on their present meeting; I repeatedly told you, that I had found it absolutely necessary to make so many promises to the leading men here, in order to gain them over from their natural connections, that it was impossible for me to fulfil them. The gentry here are proud and jealous to an extreme, nor have I been able, in a single instance, to gratify more than one person with the same employment, as is common on your side of the water; no man in office will suffer another to be quartered upon him for any part of his emoluments; either *all* or *none* is the answer: what then, my dear lord, can I do, so circumstanced? I have granted honours till they are become contemptible, and now looked upon as a badge of meanness. 'Tis true, indeed, his Majesty, in consequence of my representations, has been pleased to send over his letters, appointing an additional number of commissioners; but, my lord, pray consider, that there are some names inserted*, which have never been thought of, here, but with the utmost abhorrence, and without one single qualification, unless it be a qualification to have executed, in compliance with a depraved ministry, the most unwarrantable measures, so as effectually to alienate the affections of some millions of loyal subjects;—or
from

* Sir Francis Bernard, and Thomas Allan, Esq; were two of the new commissioners.

from the fortunate chance of a lottery to have been enabled to purchase a seat in parliament, without either character or one single reputable connection. Be assured, this was not the time to make so dangerous an experiment ; much may be legal, that is not convenient.

THE characteristicks of this country are gaiety, dissipation, and expence. I have done my utmost to encourage them, to render the gentry the more necessitous, and of course the more dependant ; by these means, my lord, you must candidly allow I have done a great deal. I have disunited families, hitherto thought impregnable to seduction ; I have provided for several of the most worthless in their occupations, to shew that an implicit obedience to Government is the single criterion of merit, that is expected, or will be rewarded. Have I not, my lord, contracted such a debt in enlarging the military establishment, increasing the salaries of office, and creating new ones, that the payment, even of the interest, will necessarily reduce the nation to a state of absolute poverty, and dependance ? And is it not thereby better fitted for an union upon our own terms, or a land-tax at worst, either of which fully answers the purposes of my appointment ?

You seem surpris'd, my lord, at my not having removed such members from their employments, as have not implicitly served Government. The consequence of such a step, would have been their going
into

into determined opposition, and they were men of no mean abilities and weight; whereas, by their being continued, *as they should behave themselves* I have had their support upon such questions, as were in any wise reasonable; and besides, those persons to whom I had promised their several places, were in general such mean, feeble, creatures, as could not have afforded me any support; and indeed, would have added to the ridicule, not the service, of the cause.

I AM truly thankful to your lordship for having sent over the Earl of Hillsborough at the opening of the session. He set off the equity of my administration, and the gentle use I made of the unrestrained powers that I was invested with, to great advantage; and could I have compassed the appointment of the additional commissioners, I should have gratified his lordship with one of them for Montgomery.

I DOUBT not your lordship will think it incumbent upon the Ministry, to consider of some restitution being made to poor Jerry Dyson, and I beg to recommend him to your protection, as I presume, that the pretensions he had to court favour, that gave him a pension upon this establishment of 1000l. a year, will plead in his behalf as we lost that question in the committee by a single voice: my trusty friends, Swan, and, Waller were not alert enough, and
one

one steady member, having taken a bumper extraordinary *to the glorious memory* had fallen asleep, and was told off on the wrong side; these little accidents, you know, will happen in the course of business.

PRESENT my humble duty to the King; assure him that I am, to every intent and purpose, the most devoted of his servants; and be assured, my dear lord, that I am, humbly craving your further countenance and protection,

Unalterably Yours,

T O W N S H E N D.

P. S. THE joy that I felt on the death of Lucas was of short duration; the city election, notwithstanding my best endeavours to the contrary, has ended in favour of Clement, by a great majority; by which I have got an opponent, tho' not so vociferous, yet to the full as determined as his predecessor; and I fear the same spirit of independence, and opposition to the mild and just measures of my administration, will diffuse itself universally through the kingdom.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR,

Dec. 10, 1771.

THE situation of Lord Townshend in Ireland is at present distinguished from all others, by circumstances of great singularity.—He stands defeated, disgraced, and despised; without public resource, or private friendship.—He has conferred on several persons, with the most capricious wantonness, favours to which they had not any title; but he always took care that such unmerited insults should accompany his benefactions, as released them from all manner of obligation and gratitude. In his negociations for power, if he found a man of national weight or connection, it was his policy to alienate him.—If a man of abilities, it was his prudence to ridicule him.—If a man of virtue, it was his nature to detest him. Thus, on his first setting out in government, the three bodies of men, against whom he opened his manifesto, and, declared war, were the men of the greatest *power*—the men of the greatest *abilities*, and the men of the greatest *integrity*, in the nation. From amongst those of opposite qualities and condition,

condition, did he select and form his alliances;—and the result has been suitable to the policy.—For at present his royal master resents his interested perfidy, in hazarding the dignity of government, for the sake of retaining a little longer the emoluments of it. And with respect to those, who have supported him—the imbecility of his government has defeated the rashness of his promises, and the extravagance of his purposes, towards them. His first determination was, to *buy as a merchandise* every vote in parliament, because he thought the venal would be the most implicit, and that what he had purchased was *his own*.—Forgetting however, that the purchase-money was the money of the people, and that the money could not be got, 'till the stewards had been corrupted.—This naturally forced him on the expedient of Promises; which not having been tried, had not been discredited.—Thus he opened his Court of Requests, and issued his promissory notes without number; declaring however, that if they were not paid *to a day* they should bear interest, or advance.—For instance, John S——s, Esq; received a promissory note to him or his order, for a seat at the barrack board: but on the day of payment, to prevent the note's being protested, it was countersigned and marked, in currency for the Revenue Board.—And like a prodigal spendthrift, not being able to discharge the several other demands on him, at the time of promised payment, he was obliged

obliged to satisfy his creditors, by issuing new securities, of so advanced an amount, as must reduce him to bankruptcy in the end; and leave him only the resources of a sudden flight, or an act of insolvency. For in the present perplexity of his affairs, so low is his credit, that he cannot raise a single vote upon it, to save his empire.—“Depart then, thou rash
 “and impotent minister—thou hast united thine
 “enemies, and thy friends are not to be found
 “—and when thou art no more amongst us,
 “thou shalt be remembered only in our resent-
 “ments.—The humanity of a nation shall scarce-
 “ly protect thine ashes from the winds,
 “and the favours thou hast conferred shall not
 “inscribe thy monument.”

F A B R I C I U S.

L E T T E R XXIX.

T O L O R D N O R T H.

M Y L O R D,

Dec. 14, 1771.

HIS Majesty is peculiarly happy in the choice of his ministers. Ever since his accession it seems to have been a settled maxim to revolt the minds of his subjects. For such a purpose it was generally thought, that he could not pitch upon a more proper person than

than your friend, the duke of Grafton. Your virtues were not sufficiently known.

His success, in alienating the affections of Englishmen from their sovereign, seemed to mark him out as the natural director of our present councils. His majesty is a man of sagacity, and saw farther than his people. Conscious of your superior merit he bade your star ascend, and eclipse that of your predecessor. I give him joy. You have answered his expectations. Ireland is in a flame; and he may now hug himself in the thought, that every part of his dominions groans under the iron rod of oppression. He is a pious prince, and would, no doubt, wish to give his subjects an opportunity of shewing their piety and resignation to the dispensations of providence. Ireland now presents such a scene; and you may with an air of triumph turn to your Royal Master, and pointing to this harrassed land, exclaim "behold, my liege, these are the works of my hand."

To minds like yours this tragedy will be a rich feast. I think, I see you, in imitation of Seneca's Gods, enjoying the distresses of Ireland, and viewing with pleasure its great men struggling with the storms of fate. But let me ask you, my Lord, whether your pleasure is pure and unmixed? Is not the sweet a little dashed with the bitter? How do you relish the affront put by the Irish Parliament
upon

upon your *Mercury in bronze*? Upon what fund will you now quarter Jeremiah's mistress? The Civil List can bear no new incumbrance. It is already three-quarters in arrears; and the distressed beef-eaters, having applied to you in vain, are obliged to sell their wages at an unreasonable discount,

BUT why do I talk of the misery of the household to you, who are not touched with that of the king? While his Ministry wallows in riches, he is surrounded with poverty. In vain are half-millions voted, without any account, by your complaisant friends in the lower house. They are only nominal transfers, like those of the East-India Directors, when they would carry a question. The whole shower of gold soon returns into the ocean, out of which it was first exhaled, and leaves the region of royalty dry and barren. But I suppose he means to copy the example of Cyrus, a Prince of pious memory, who thought his riches better lodged in the hands of his friends than in his treasures. The argument is specious. I would only advise him to inquire, whether the friends of Cyrus were Norths, Graftons, and Sandwiches. Certainly it is not upon record, that they ever induced him to render the provinces of his empire disaffected by the multiplication of useless placemen. By what argument, my Lord, did you convince your Sovereign, that *twelve* Commissioners were necessary

necessary for collecting those revenues, which did not afford sufficient employment to *seven*? Was it by that arithmetick which you introduced into the decision of the Middlesex election? The event may satisfy his Majesty, that national characters change, and that the confusion of ideas, once charged upon Ireland, is now more justly predicated of England.

You did not expect, that the Hibernian patriots would have had perseverance and penetration enough to expose the fallacious estimate laid before the Parliament. The facility with which the British Senate has passed more fallacious accounts, had put you off your guard. This reverse will certainly render you more cautious for the future, if, after such manifest detection, you can stand your ground. But why should I suspect your downfall? We are taught by uniform experience, that notorious corruption is the best recommendation to the best of —. Had not your fortune been already made by the plunder of the widow and orphan in *the alley*, this act would have made him open with a liberal hand—the purses of his subjects.—It is, when they meditate impeachments, that he thinks of rewards.

† JUNIUS.

† This is not the production of the celebrated Junius.

LETTER XXX.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Dec. 21, 1771.

THOUGH your Excellency's known temper and magnanimity in battle, may defend you from any imputations of insolence in victory; yet your Lordship will, I flatter myself, excuse the liberty I now take, when you recollect, that it was a custom with the antient rulers of the world to guard the transport of the noblest natures, by joining to the triumph of the *victorious*, a monitor to remind him *that he was but a man*.—Your Excellency, whose character is formed on the best models of antiquity, for inflexible virtue—for justice, sobriety, moderation, fortitude, veneration for the laws, and love for the people,—will not hear with indignation this humble admonition, which is merely intended to regulate your feelings under the contemplation of recent success.

† YOUR Lordship has triumphed over the enemies of a new Board of Accounts.—I give you joy! and beg leave to congratulate your Lordship
on

† See the Appendix, No. 4.

on that peculiar good fortune, which has more than once in your life united your name with conquest. For it seems, this was not the first instance of your assuming the honour of a victory which was not of your acquiring. In one instance, the abilities of a superior, *whom you could not controul*; in another, the private friendships of private men, which *the most inauspicious co-operation* could not defeat, succeeded alike not only to defend, but to adorn Lord Townshend.

If you will but condescend, my Lord, in exultation of your triumph, to consider how you obtained, and how you stand fortified in your encampment after it, I trust I need not admonish your Excellency to humility!

You marched into the field at the head of a multitude of mercenaries, with the alliance of the King's name, and under the consecrated banners of the Sign-manual. In short you exerted every power of your situation, and you obtained a majority of *five only* in the House of Commons, in favour of a scheme for bestowing 500l. per ann. on five of their members. It is not enough to say, that those five members voted especially *for themselves*, and *exactly* decided the day; but I must observe, that the whole powers of government, under your Excellency's auspices, would never have brought the question within the reach of those
five

five votes, were it not for the force of their private solicitations, and friendships.

Nothing then can be so clear, as that the weight of national power lay against you ; and private affection, in this instance, broke through the bonds of publick obligation. For it must ever be recited amongst the amiable infirmities of my countrymen, that all their stern virtues weaken and dissolve, when opposed to the sympathies of social intercourse and amicable communication. The man, who was severe enough to detest your administration, was yet soft enough to remember his antient friendships.

Thus the recollection of *congenial sports and prodigality*—the sympathy of *youthful connexion*—the society of *military service*—the influence of *family adherence*—and the obstinate importunity of domestic craft, played against the *partialities of parental tenderness*, were all listed in your service, and became your allies without a subsidy.

Your Excellency must then be too well acquainted with those particulars to suppose yourself any more than an *accessary* to this victory.

It was your fortune to meet the Parliament of a country, that entertained an extraordinary reverence for your master ; and therefore you were protected

tested, so long as compliment was the object of government—but when you came to measures, the opposition, which spoke the voice of the nation, was too strong for you.—What they gave, they gave from generosity—what they withheld, they withheld with superiority of strength. They opposed you, but they supported your royal master; they overturned your empire, but they maintained his government. And indeed in every thing they did, they conducted themselves with extraordinary delicacy—for whilst they manifested by their strength a superiority over the Viceroy, by their liberality to the King did they exhibit unexampled instances of loyalty and attachment.

REFLECT, my Lord, on the transactions of the Commons!—They granted his Majesty the ordinary supplies—they moreover voted an enormous loan, sufficient to satisfy even royal prodigality—they agreed to that mass of expence *the augmentation of the army*, still further augmented in expence, tho' diminished in numbers, since the original proposition of it.—They enabled his Majesty legally to alienate a part of the publick revenues, which his Majesty had before been advised (and advised with effect) to alienate, *contrary to law*—These were the measures of his Majesty's government; and in those instances the Commons forgot your Excellency, and remembered only the amiable weakness of loyal partiality.

LET

LET me now examine your Excellency's own measures, and the points of opposition to you, that we may be able to judge of the strength of the fortrefs, within which you are intrenched.—

THE first insult of your own person and government (which was most strenuously opposed by your friends) was a declaration of the Commons,—“That the abilities and essential interests of the country should be the measure of the supply.”—The next was a resolution of the Commons in favour of “œconomy and all possible retrenchment.” This was justly supposed to imply a reflection on your Excellency's administration, and therefore was zealously, but ineffectually, opposed by your friends in Parliament.—The next parliamentary overthrow, of which I shall remind your Excellency, was, in the condemnation of the Excise-board, after you had rashly advised your Sovereign to order *positively*, that a measure should be pursued, which was impracticable, without a new law; and which new law, it is evident, you were not strong enough to obtain.

THE next of your Excellency's humiliations was Mr. Dyson's case; in which the Commons declared, “They would not provide for a pension, which had been granted under your Excellency's administration, *in violation of the royal promise.*”——You were, indeed, beaten but

but by one, in the committee; but you had the question revived in the house contrary to the law of parliament, and there you cleared the doubts which might rest on your situation, by exposing yourself to a *more decisive defeat*.

THE next article of your disgrace, was taken from the publick accounts. In them, it seems, a charge had been handed down of about 9000*l.* for Militia Arms and fortifying the harbour of Cork. As this was an obsolete charge from the year 1746, the opponents to your government thought it should be struck off; but your friends were up in arms at the proposition. They were unwilling that any thing should return from the gulph of the exchequer! they urged, that your excellency had, *in your own mind*, already appropriated this sum to the erecting batteries in the harbour of Cork, upon plans, formed and digested in your military progress through Ireland.

THAT day, the malice of fortune gave you the victory, but to betray you to double disgrace; for, on the succeeding day, the statute-book was examined—the transaction was exposed.—Recantation, humility, and disgrace covered your party—your plans of fortification, and *sketches* of military design, were become the objects of ridicule, and blushes were seen to glow on cheeks which never blushed before.

M

MODERATE

As to the recent victory, which at present encircles your brows with laurel, I have already troubled your Excellency with some observation upon it——you engaged five gentlemen to vote for themselves, and to solicit the assistances of friendship; the powers of which are not yet so weak in this country, as that your Excellency's co-operation was able to defeat them.

MODERATE your triumph then, illustrious commander!—You have been defeated in three out of four of your capital engagements——Your single trophy was not the fruit of your own strength, or conduct. The power of private friendship,——the interest of individuals——and the astonishing desertion of two men, who ought to be found amongst your sternest enemies, atchieved *this first and last* of your victories.

F A B R I C I U S.

L E T T E R XXXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

Dec. 23, 1771.

IF you can find room for the inclosed inscription, you will much oblige your constant reader, .

L A P I D A R I U S.

AN

AN INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR WHICH IS
SPEEDILY TO BE ERECTED AT THE TOWN
OF BULLOCK.

THIS column was erected at the private expence
Of good Men,

To stand a monument of Irish Story, and
A Memorial to Posterity

Of our happy deliverance from the scourge
Of insolence and oppression,

By the unexpected, but not unwished for, departure
Of George Lord Viscount Townshend ;

Who resided in this land, as Chief Governour,
For the space of Four Years: But at length

Departed on the 26th Day of December, in the Year
1771.

Having on that day, being St. Stephen's day,

The 15th day after his obtaining a victory,

(Which the *Wife* call'd a defeat,)

And the 2d day after he pass'd the Money-Bills,

(Which *He* thought an Exploit)

Embarked, *without ostentation,*

At this little Port of Bullock.

He came to Ireland professing and practising

Every mystery of corruption—

Waging war against

Power, Abilities, and Integrity ;

And accordingly his administration was

Absurdity, Impotence, and Profligacy.

During his residence, the *powers* of his office

Frequently compell'd him to confer favours,

But a capricious nature and barbarous manners,
 Defended him from the returns of
 Friendship and Gratitude :
 He therefore never made
 A Friend.

So that in a country, in which any misfortune
 Calls forth the affections of the people—
 Where they drop tears at the execution of
 Every Malefactor,

He however was
 Unassisted in his difficulties,
 Unpitied in his disgrace,
 And unlamented in his departure.
 He utter'd falshood from the throne
 In the name of the King.

From his closet did he promise
 The things which never were performed—
 His conduct in government was
 A disgrace to him, whom he represented,
 A reproach to those, who appointed Him,
 And a scourge to those, whom he governed.—

He was a Mimick,
 A Scribbler,
 A Decypherer of features,
 A Delineator of corporeal infirmity ;

But he was not
 A Statesman,
 A Governor,
 A Soldier,
 A Friend,

Or a Gentleman :

He was victorious only when he involved

His

His cause with the cause of
 private persons—
 And the ordinary effects of
 Sympathy and Affection,
 (Usually so strong in this country)
 Became weak or doubtful,
 As they were damp'd by the influence
 Of his co-operation.
 His wisdom was fraud ;
 His policy, corruption ;
 His fortitude, contempt of character ;
 His friendship, distrust ;
 His enmity, revenge ;
 And his exploit, the ruin of a country.

L E T T E R XXXII.

* TO THE WRITERS OF THE LAST BATCHELOR.

Jan. 2, 1772.

A CITIZEN of the world, I
 am a friend to mankind. A citizen of Geneva, I
 am a friend to a weak nation, exposed to the en-
 croachments of a superior kingdom. I knew the
 English in their history ; and I admired them. I
 sought refuge amongst the sons of freedom, as I
 thought them : but, alas, I found that, however
 they might have been entitled to that godlike dis-
 tinction, they had lost it by degeneracy. The
 misrepresentations of Hume contributed to the
 captivating error. But I soon found that he had

M 3

been

* See the Batchelor of Dec. 28, 1771.

been himself a missionary of corruption, and that he applauded the political ethicks of a nation, which he had inspired. “Deluded, or deluding man, and infatuated people, said I to myself, farewel. The heart of Rousseau, an alien to fraud; and the tongue, an advocate for truth, cannot dissemble. I cannot live, where I could not brook to die. Some land of liberty shall shield my bones; nor shall my ashes mingle but with the dust of freemen.”

My fruitless, but unwearied search hath almost exhausted Europe; and I now stand in this, I hope, not devoted island, hesitating upon the margin of the deep: but prepared, if I shall be here disappointed, to traverse (in the resolution, not the despair, of age) the extent of the Atlantick.

A *Denizen* of your country, I owe returns of service for the bounty of protection; and, universally naturalized to liberty by the congenial breathings of my soul, the wound which I received from seeing, in your last publication, my publick words and my unhappy name perverted to the injury of this country and of freedom, has so far touched a heart, not insensible, as to drag me from my intended obscurity, and to make me in some sort an actor on a stage, where I wished to be only a spectator. You have made me an advocate for uncertainty in the rights of the subject, though they are only *rights* as far as they are defined. You have made me a patron
of

of ambiguity in things the most essential to the welfare of humanity, though I have aimed at precision in matters less important. But know, audacious or ignorant writers, that the delicacy and intercourse of sentiment between the people and their governors, which I recommend, have another object. Know also, that men flew from the simplicity of a state of nature, for no other reason, but that all great, private and publick rights might be invariably ascertained ; and that the civil government, which doth not fix and specify them, is the most fatal conspiracy against the happiness of man.

You say that this country is no longer free than whilst it enjoys the inestimable privilege of being taxed by its own representatives *only*, (*and according to the established forms of the Constitution*, you ought to have added.) You say, on the other hand, that England will not suffer her manufactures to be taxed, nor her commerce to be restrained, by an Irish House of Commons. The latter proposition, thus universally predicated, is absurd and false. But suppose it to be true, what follows ? Not that it is necessary, that the Crown should have a power to *alter* your Money-bills. The Crown, by the established forms of the constitution, hath a *negative*, by which it can prevent any law from passing ; and that negative is a sufficient security for English commerce and manufacture. The commerce and manufacture of England is thus secure, not only in the original forms of

the constitution, but in the superiority of Great Britain also. But what support or existence has this inestimable privilege of the Commons, if a rival and destructive power be established in the Crown of Great Britain ? Or is it the language of Irishmen, that the less essential rights of another nation, which already have all human security, should be further fortified, at the expence of the most essential rights of their own country ? This cannot be. What follows ? That this great privilege of the Commons should be preserved according to the established law of the constitution, inviolate. What then is that privilege ? Not, that the Commons should have *barely* a *negative* to a Money-bill, like the King ; but that they, *alone*, should *propound* and *model* bills of supply ; and that a power of *dissenting, only*, should remain with the Nobles, and with the Crown. Whereas if you give the Sovereign a power to *alter*, you give him a power to *propound* and *model* ; and leave to the Commons, as a security over their *own grants*, a *negative only* : that is, you reverse every principle of the constitution, and confound every maxim of common sense and equity.

HEREAFTER, perhaps, I may enter more largely upon this subject, for I feel myself kindling in the cause. Now let me speak to the *authors* of that publication ; for it seems it is a divided labour. Both of you, we are told, are military men. There is a frankness, and a liberality, at least, in that profession, to which clandestine calumny is not adapted,

adapted. Far from violating in peace, what you are paid to protect in war ; you ought to remember, not only the monarch, in whose name you are enrolled ; but the people, by whose bounty you are fed. Or, if the splendid vassals of the sword, are too often content to be thought enemies to freedom, be not you more than professionally her foes ; let her not meet you in the *closet*, as well as in the *field* ; and at least, let her be free from the *pen* of stipendiary centurions. The studies and the exercises of war, the dance, the theatre, are open : let the last of your frolicks be, to sport with the rights of your country, or with the fame of her defenders. I speak to you for a moment, as if you were not *purchased* to the task ; for if you be, you are the last of wretches.

If any difference is to be made between these political *Sofis* ; if there be one of them more allied to *Hermes*, let him remember, that though he may be employed, like his predecessor, to compass for another the end of prostitution ; yet, that the seducer, in this case, is not a *Jove*, and that he himself is one of the offspring of *Alcmena*. Let him not wound private and publick faith, nor immolate friendship at the shrine of a man, whose absurdity and caprice, whose meanness and insolence, whose ingratitude and baseness, are amongst his favourite themes : and if he hath a ray of that genius, which by an intemperate sensibility, hurries the mind, sometimes, even to the precipice of distraction, let

him not excruciate the unfortunate and aged Rousseau, by a distortion of his sentiments, which will make him appear an enemy of that country, in which he hopes for an asylum, and of that truth and liberty, to the promotion of which, his life and labours have been devoted.

JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Jan. 7, 1772.

PERMIT me once more to address myself to your Excellency,—not in the language of accusation and reproach, but in the softer accents of pity and condolence. For indeed, I cannot but lament with your Excellency, that your administration should have been so signally distinguished from all others, by furnishing so many unusual instances of violence against the liberty of this country. 'Tis true, my lord, some of them were suggested by persons, superior in authority to your Excellency ; but in the end, you condescended to make them your own, by your countenance and adoption ; and therefore, some imagine, that the ample experience, with which you had furnished

nished the English Ministry, of your *indiscriminate acquiescence*, of your *temperate interpretation of personal insults*, and *resignation under disgrace*, could alone have induced them to *mark* your lordship's administration, by an experiment of the grossest indignity to the government and constitution of this country;—an essay against the last stake of Irish liberty. When the ministry returned to this country an *altered Money-Bill*, one would have imagined their great object was the subversion of your administration. They could not surely have thought so meanly of you, as to suppose you incapable of distinguishing, or indifferent in deciding, between that which is base, and that which is noble!—Nor could they, I trust, think you so enamoured of high station, as that you would retain it, under the disgrace of tyrannical mandates on one side, and the dissatisfaction of a nation on the other. But whatever may have been their motives, it had been happy for your Excellency, if you had discerned with a little sagacity, and acted with a little resolution, on this great national question;—if you had involved even your private resentments with the publick cause, and proved your own innocence, by not only disclaiming, but resisting, this injury,—But your Excellency was otherwise advised.—Your secretary saw *no evil* in the alterations.—Your Solicitor-general, and Counsellor to the commissioners of Revenue, thought them *benefaction and grace*.

OTHERS

OTHERS of your friends (as you may think them) equally insensible of this enormity, but preferring the most doubtful reputation to decided infamy, adopted the old expedient of procrastination ; —what they were too weak to defend, they hoped they were strong enough to delay ; and like prudent generals, before they would hazard a decisive engagement, they chose to take a review of their forces, by a division on a motion, “ to adjourn the “ debate for two days.” The propriety of this proposition they gravely argued ; though they knew in their consciences, that no delay could administer information ; that no enquiry could suggest knowledge on this subject.——For indeed the deliberation of ages could not diminish the evil.——The official artifice of the most perverted ingenuity could not *unaler* the money-bill, which lay before them. The case was simple——accommodated to the decision of a moment. The question was only, whether the Commons should pass an altered money-bill, or not ?——They were as well able to judge on Saturday, as they could be on Monday, or on any other day of their lives, whether it was expedient to surrender the last stake of their liberty, or not !——Trust me, my lord, the vigilance of the world readily discovers that delusion, which would hide, under the mask of moderation, so great a perfidy.——They well knew, that delay could not alter the merits of the cause ; but they had some private reasons to suspect, that it might alter the disposition of the judges, before whom

whom it was to be tried. But they were disappointed!—and everlasting honour will crown their opponents, who in the day of trial took a great and decided part, and gained for their country this signal victory. A victory not of party over party, or faction against power!—It was the resistance of magnanimity to oppression.—It was the triumph of publick virtue over private interest.

AT this particular season, security had sent the great body of the opposition into the country, and your Excellency was left omnipotent in Parliament, for every purpose, save only that which tended to the absolute ruin of the country. This gives invincible authority to your defeat; and must, at the same time, render you some consolation, as it conveys a proof, that no Administration could have succeeded in this abominable business, until it had first totally debased, degraded, and corrupted, the representative body of the nation. And that is a work, which it appears your Excellency's industry in four years has not been able to accomplish.

AND now, my Lord, seeing that your education in camps has left you in need of information upon subjects of liberty;—that you are surrounded by men, on one side, destitute of capacity to inform, on the other, of integrity to inform faithfully; I shall beg leave to state to your Excellency (that you may not be totally ignorant of the most striking feature
of

of your administration) the great question of this altered money-bill. And then, I shall ask you, if you think your friends were honest, those friends, who told you that it was a matter fitted for delay, moderation, or management, to loiter over?

It is laid down, as the law of the land, by Judge Blackstone (no very great favourer of the democratical part of our constitution, whom even Counsellor Power has accused of wanting zeal for liberty) "That it is the antient indisputable privilege and right of the House of Commons, that all grants of subsidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their house, and are first bestowed by them." And this great Lawyer (with deference to the revenue-counsellor do I call him so) further observes, "that so reasonably jealous are the Commons of this valuable privilege, that herein they will not suffer the other house to exert any power, but that of rejecting. They will not permit the least *alteration* or *amendment* to be made by the Lords to the mode of taxing the people by a money-bill." And he adds, "That it would be extremely dangerous to give them any power of framing taxes for the subject. It is sufficient, that they have a power of rejecting, if they think the Commons too lavish or improvident in their grants."

Now, if the *Lords*, who vote for themselves and their own concerns, who pay their proportion
of

of all taxes, which are imposed on the nation, are not permitted, in any sort, to meddle with this great right of the Commons, how monstrous would it be to suppose, that the *Crown* could exercise any such power, whose province it is, only to accept, not contribute to, these national bounties.

THIS is the common law of the land ; and the constant principle and practice of Parliament.— And so tenacious of this valuable right have the Commons of Ireland ever been, that in the year 1753, upon a moderate provocation, in comparison with the present, they amply testified their sentiments on this great question.

THERE happened at that time to be a redundancy in the treasury—the House of Commons passed heads of a bill applying this redundancy to the payment of the national debt. The English Ministry were of opinion that, as this money had been by former acts of Parliament vested in the Crown, under a general trust, it would be a breach of delicacy at least, to apply it to any particular purpose, without specifying his Majesty's previous consent thereto ; and therefore, when the bill returned, the words, "*with his Majesty's previous consent,*" appeared to have been inserted in the preamble. The moment it was discovered, the House of Commons was in a flame—and tho' this was not a bill laying a single tax on the people

people—tho' it might be considered rather as a bill of *disposition* than *taxation*—yet, as it appertained unto money, it was thought too much a money-bill, to admit of any the least alteration; and therefore it was rejected.

AND now, my Lord, let us examine the alterations which defeated the money-bill of this session.—We transmitted into Great Britain a money-bill of such extensive liberality, as gave us reason to expect royal acknowledgement, not ministerial insult, in return. But we were disappointed!—The Committee of comparison between our copy and the transmits, reported to the house three positive and substantial alterations in the very matter of the supply. It appeared, that the antient duty, which we had imposed on cottons, both from motives of commerce and subsidy, was struck out of the bill.—Your Lordship has been told, “this was a clerical error!—It was inserted in the other copy!”—It is unnecessary to expose the suspicious circumstances which attended this particular—they were many—however, I shall admit the defence so far. But what, my Lord, do you say to the *express words inserted*, which positively exempt British herrings from a tax imposed by the Commons? Is this a solid alteration of our money-bill or not? Is the insertion of a number of words, of so marked an import, a literal inaccuracy, or a clerical error? impossible!

AND

AND now, my Lord, let us examine the next alteration!—The House of Commons imposed a duty on certain foreign diapers of a particular denomination. This tax the legislative authority of the English Ministry thought proper utterly to defeat, by a positive clause which was inserted, exempting from the duty, all such as should be imported from Great Britain—which was, in effect, *all* that should be imported. Which of the servants of the Crown informed your Excellency, that this was accident or error? Whoever he was, I envy him not his station or emoluments—he has dearly purchased them!—Trust not men who shew themselves ready to go all lengths with you! They are not men of principle—therefore you can't rely on them.

WHAT then did those gentlemen mean, who boasted of having discovered a *correct* copy of this bill? They pleaded somewhat like the prisoner, who being arraigned for three murders, demanded a general acquittal for having proved, that one of them was manslaughter without malice prepense—They thought to disarm the noblest spirit of national resentment, that ever exalted a patriot assembly, by endeavouring to prove, that this bill only contained one *accidental* and two *intentional* violations of the constitution—and therefore, out of tenderness to one unlucky accident, we were to pardon two malignant transgressions,—

No

No, my Lord! If our essential rights are to be destroyed, what matters it, whether they fall by one, or two, or three wounds?—The admission of an altered money-bill, in any possible instance, is a crime, for the perpetration of which the Commons of Ireland are not yet sufficiently debased.—They know, that their very existence depends on preserving purity in this particular.—If any power had a right to *alter*, in any degree, what authority could draw a line of limitation? And the absurdity is obvious, as well as criminal, which amuses us by distinctions, between alterations *tending to encrease*, and those which *affect to diminish* the supply. The representatives of the people form a great scale of taxation, so proportioned, as that the several imposts may sustain each other.—They know, that in many instances, to diminish the rate, is to encrease the revenue, as in the cases of tea and tobacco; and that on the other hand, in order to support internal taxation, they must lay commercial impositions on the articles of importation. In short, the whole scheme of supply must be one work—and it must be the work of the Commons entire.

SUFFER not yourself therefore, my lord, to be persuaded, that any circumstance in the *tendency* can be a mitigation in the *matter* of altering a money-bill. For if the idea be once admitted, it will be soon established.—If the Crown can once become possessed of a right of alteration, that will imperceptibly

imperceptibly become a right of proposition.—
—Then indeed would the whole order of the legislature be overturned—the representative of the people would be reduced to a simple negative over their own liberalities ; and the constitutional liberty of this country would be at end. We might then reflect, with an idle veneration, upon the wisdom of our ancestors, who had guarded the house of commons against the possibility of admitting a new tax by surprise.—For the law of parliament requires, that it should be proposed and discussed five different times, before they can adopt or transmit it to Great Britain.—That, I say, would be a fruitless precaution, if a silent insertion of new matter into the money-bill, or an alteration of the old, were in any possible instance, to be a measure admissible.

TRUST me, my lord, the Crown is not possessed of power enough in this country, to enforce so ruinous a tenet ;—and if ever it shall become so powerful, it's power will be absolute.

AFTER this review of the laws and constitution, I believe no man will be found, who does not admire the whole conduct of the House of Commons on the late memorable transaction.—It was all wisdom, spirit, and moderation !

THE

THE Committee of comparison reported, that the money-bill had been altered.—The Commons therefore rejected the bill. On the same day they prepared and passed heads of a bill, under a different title, but as nearly as possible of the same import with that which they had rejected ;—and this they did, that they might furnish the world with a decisive testimony, that they had rejected a money-bill, not on account of any particular objections to the *import* of the alterations it had suffered ; but merely because it was an altered money-bill. The English Ministry, being sufficiently informed of the invincible resolution of the Irish House of Commons, thought proper to return the new bill to them without any further experiment.—The Committee of comparison reported, “ that the bill was “ unaltered,” and it passed the house with unusual celerity.

THUS the House of Commons have formed a perfect and conclusive authority, on this greatest of national questions, and vindicated themselves from any doubts, which the days of prerogative may have suggested against them—they have covered themselves with honour, and shall leave behind them an example, which will be, at once, the admiration and the controul of their posterity. They have wiped away the impressions of a vulgar timidity, which has ever united the ideas of destruction, with the rejection of a money-bill.—They have taught Administration, “ that the emoluments of
“ the

“ the Crown cannot purchase every thing ; and
 “ though Government may sometimes be gratified’
 “ in unreasonable requests, it will not be com-
 “ plied with in unlawful commands.”

THE majority, who decided this great question,
 have done that, which shall be remembered to
 them, by their country, when they shall apply for
 re-election——They have done that, which they
 themselves shall reflect on with satisfaction, in the
 last moment of their lives.

FABRICIUS.

L E T T E R XXXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN’S JOURNAL.

S I R,

Jan. 21, 1772.

I SEND you enclosed a ballad
 on a recent transaction, which I hope will afford
 your readers as much entertainment as it did

Your humble servant,

CANTILENA.

A B A L-

A B A L L A D,

ON THE REJECTION OF THE (1) ALTERED
MONEY-BILL.

With explanatory notes, by different authors.

I.

I'LL tell you a story—'tis not of (2) three Crows;
(2) Nor the Dog that the letter refus'd to disclose;
But a strife 'mongst the Commons that lately
arose,

Which Nobody can deny.

They

(1) In absolute governments, where the people have only a permitted property, the will of the Monarch is the source and the limit of taxation—In free governments, like those of Great Britain and Ireland, the reverse obtains—and therefore we see that in these, the will of the people, expressed by their representatives, is the origin and the measure of all supplies—and that the Crown hath only a power to accept or refuse, not to propound or alter.

Montesquieu.

(2) Two *new* stories invented by Sir George Macartney—the one to prove, that there would be no protest or prorogation—the other to shew, there was no scheme of dividing the revenue board. People thought he knew these matters better than any one, he being a man of great parts, and having continual access to his own office. But next day it appeared, that he had deceived them through forgetfulness, he having a *treacherous* memory.

Sterling

II.

They granted their Sovereign a gallant supply,
But (3) Thurloe resolved (that prerogative spy)
That a power to alter their bill he would try—
Which nobody can deny.

III.

Then lest that the Commons might take it to
heart,
A letter was written by Rochford with art—
To tell them, the “change did not matter a f—t : *
Which nobody could deny.

IV.

“ ’Twas true, that pragmatrical fellow (4) Will. Pitt
“ *Unaltered* their money bills used to transmit,
“ But that *now* the *King's friends* did what they
“ thought fit ;
Which nobody could deny.

IV. But

(3) Attorney General of England, and practitioner at
the bar of Nandoe's coffee-house—he and his connexi-
ons are notorious friends of liberty in every part of the
British dominions. Boston Gazette.

(*) An expression, whereby the people of Ireland sig-
nify their respect for Lord Townshend's administration.

(4) The celebrated Dr. R——n, who will shortly
gratify the world with a history of America, has favoured
the

IV.

But when to the members this letter was read,

Old

the editor with a sight of that work in manuscript. In speaking of the conquest of Canada, and the administration of Mr. Pitt, he has the following passage, which he has very kindly permitted us to publish: "The Secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind over-awed Majesty, and one of his Sovereigns thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority. No state chicanery, no narrow system of vicious politicks, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the Great; but overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the House of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England—The sight of his mind was infinite; and his schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age, only, but Europe and posterity.—Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding, animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent—those sensations which soften and allure and vulgarize—were unknown to him. No domestick difficulties, no domestick comforts reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unsullied by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system—to counsel—and to decide.

A. cha.

Old Clement suspected—the wise shook their head ;
A committee they'd have to compare it, they said,
Which nobody can deny.

V. And

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the Treasury trembled at the name of Pitt, through all her classes of venality—Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the *inconsistency* of his glory, and much of the *ruin* of his victories—But the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the senate; peculiar, and spontaneous, *familiarly* expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom. Not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully, it resembled sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the musick, of the spheres. Like Murray, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argumentation; nor was he, like Townshend, for ever on the rack of exertion: but rather *lightened* upon the subject, and reached the point by the *flashings* of his mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wildness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through it's history."

V.

And when they examined and found how 'twas
 alter'd,
 That Rochford had lied, and that (4) Townshend
 had palter'd,
 (5) Burgh swore in a rage, ' They ought both to
 ' be halter'd,'

Which nobody can deny.

VI. Flood,

(4) He is a very civil Nobleman, and wrote me a letter of congratulation on my being elected an Alderman of the city of Dublin. He is own brother to the celebrated Charles Townshend, deceased, and was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, in the life-time of his said brother. He is confessed to have done good to this country *one way or another*, and is much to be commended for complying with the prejudices of the people, in giving the royal assent, which *he could not help*, to the Octennial Bill, tho' he always declared it would be the ruin of the country; of which there can be no doubt, as it must in the end cause a new bridge to be built over the Liffy. — His greatest exploit, as a soldier, was his taking Quebec, sword in hand, in person, and then writing letters to England, ascribing all the glory of the day to General Wolfe, who was dead, and who had no more to say to it than Todd. He also accepted kindly of the money grants of the Parliament of Ireland, on the 27th of December, 1769, giving the royal assent to the same. He then read distinctly a *civil* protest against the Commons, calling them law-breakers instead of law-makers, to the manifest satisfaction of Judge Robinson, who smiled all the time; and then he prorogued the Parliament with *great good humour*; having waited to the last minute for the coming in of the packet, to see whether he might not have leave to *dissolve* them. His friends advised him to return
 to

VI.

(6) Flood, (7) Langrishe, (8) Bushe, (9) Hussey,
were all in a flame ;
(10) Pery, (11) Brownlow, (12) O'Brien, each
patriot name,
Said the bill ne'er should pass, but go back as it
came,

Which nobody can deny.

N

VII. The

to England immediately after the late short session, but
he prudently declined their counsels, foreseeing that
he should return with more advantage after the *successes*
of this winter ; and accordingly he hath this session car-
ried the new Commissioners of Excise, and Mr. Dyson's
pension, by a large majority ; as also, the altered mo-
ney-bill ; to the great satisfaction of the English Mini-
stry, and to the mortification of our foolish patriots ; ma-
ny of whom are my customers, for whom I have the
greatest respect, veneration, and liking.

G. Faulkner.

(5) A gentleman, whose principles of government
differ from those of John Monk Mason, Esq.

Com. Journals.

(6) We have done justice to this gentleman in the *Bat-
chelor*, notwithstanding he opposes Administration viru-
lently. He thinks a great deal of himself, and imitates
Doctor Charles Lucas. He writes *all* the papers in the
Freeman and the Hibernian Journals, in verse and in prose.
He applied to Lord Townshend for the collection of Kil-
kenny in the room of his friend Mr. Langrishe, and also to
be tried for his life ; and was refused both. He has talk-
ed a great deal of stuff this winter in the Parliament House,
and would have talked a great deal more but for fear of
Sir George Macartney and Counsellor Power.

The authors of notes on the epistle to G. E. Howard.

This

VII.

The courtiers began at each other to stare ;
 (13) Will Gamble was absent ; (14) Jack Mason
 not there ;
 Confusion for once seized on (15) Averell's heir ;
 Which nobody can deny.

VIII. First

(7) This gentleman is a great joker—but I believe the joke will be against him, when I am Collector of Kilkenny. I did not, however, like to see him vote for Government the first day of this session. But the next Sunday I went to levee, with my friend Jammy Agar, who made the bargain, and Lord Townshend gave me a wink, and laughed, as much to say, "Joe, you are snug." I hear he has since done for himself on the money-bill, and exposed himself so much by what he said, that his crony Harry Flood cried to see him make such a fool of himself.

Joe Mathews.

(8) This young gentleman is a relation of Dean Marley, who is a friend to Captain Jephson—and therefore probably concerned in some publications against my character. He perfidiously and ungratefully opposed Government four days after he got an employment, which gave me a good opportunity to lash him in my poetical dialogue on *the Times*; when I called him Judas Iscariot, and a goose.

Burroughs.

(9) This gentleman's being in Parliament must hurt him in his profession, as every body now sees, that he has neither talents, nor liberality of sentiment. He does not *stick* to the question as I do, but is fond of being personal, without ingenuity. I thought him tolerable however upon Scott—and that is the only thing upon which I remember Sir George and me ever to have differed.

R. Power.

VIII.

First (16) Power hobbled up, and cried, " what
" is this rout ?"

" (17) Was he that gave Blackstone the elegant
" clout)

" Sure *cotton's* included, tho' *cotton's* left out ;
Which nobody can deny.

N 2

IX. Smooth

(10) Government accuse this gentleman of great perfidy, in refusing to betray the rights of the Commons, though they had placed him in the chair for that purpose.

(11) This is a wrong-headed zealot. He opposes the present administration, though he has no view to getting a place or title by it. Upon the next general election Sir Arch. Acheson will shew him the difference.

A Freeholder of Armagh.

(12) This Baronet can have no regard for this country; having no property in it, and being descended from upstarts and aliens.

Sir James Ware.

(13) We have made the strictest enquiry about this gentleman, and can only find that he is related to the Provost.

(14) A person, whose republican principles have prevented this promotion, and justly endeared him to the people.

(15) By these words the Provost *cannot* be intended: Bishop Averell, though raised to a mitre by *his* interest only, having ungratefully disappointed him, by leaving his fortune away from him, which I would not have done. Under the word "Provost" in the index to Guicciardini's history translated, there is a reference to the following passage: " Amongst the rest there came to this
" council Francisco Andrea, a bold, bad man. He had
" some talents, and was thought to have more. His stile
" and utterance were vulgar and provincial; his plea-
"antry

IX.

(17) Smooth Godfrey declared, “ ’twas all one
in the greek ;

“ And hoped, that we never would act upon pique,

“ But if George gave a flap, that we’d turn t’other
“ cheek ;

Which nobody can deny.

X. Macartney

“ santry was gross ; and his seriousness boisterous. Of
“ a strong body, he was able,—and of a licentious
“ mind, he was willing—to accommodate himself to the
“ vices of the great. Next to the turbulent aspiring of
“ his nature, the debauchery of wine was his favourite
“ propensity. But, it was his connexion with a woman
“ which raised him. An eminent courtesan, joining, to
“ personal charms, the grace of theatrical accomplish-
“ ments, hath access to power, if it be not intrenched
“ in virtue. Francisco’s paramour had these advan-
“ tages, and used them to promote her lover. He thus
“ became an intimate of the worst men in the papal court,
“ and readily consented to be the instrument of their
“ views against his country, in order to secure his per-
“ sonal advancement. By their interest, he was made
“ president of the principal religious and literary founda-
“ tion in that country. What indignation did it ex-
“ cite in the wise and virtuous, to behold the educa-
“ tion and principles of the rising age committed to
“ such a guardian ! The treasures of the academy, pi-
“ ously bequeathed by the former president were wast-
“ ed to erect an edifice for the peculiar habitation of
“ his unworthy successor ; and in a situation distinct
“ and separate from the seminary, that he might be
“ exempted from the discipline of the society : of a com-
“ pliance with which, he ought to have been the most emi-
“ nent example. He prostituted his prepositorial authori-
“ ty

X.

(18) Macartney profess'd, "that, for half his
" estate,

" He wou'd not have wish'd this had come in de-
" bate,

" Though he thought the amendments were not
" very great;"

Which nobody can deny.

N 3

XI. "If

" ty to pervert the publick principles of the youth, to the
" end, that he might become master of the secular power
" of the society; and by the most barbarous oppression in-
" jured the fame, and was ultimately instrumental
" to the untimely death of an ingenuous youth, whose in-
" tegrity he could not corrupt. He soon became too no-
" torious for hypocrisy; so that his character had no re-
" fuge in vice, and it sought for none in virtue. But ne-
" ver did he so entirely abandon himself to infamy, as
" in the government of the second Borgia. Before, there
" might have been observed in him a total oblivion of
" right and decency; but the most active and determin-
" ed flagitiousness was now professed. The gradation of
" his enormities astonished good men; insomuch that in-
" stead of resolutely opposing their progress, they were
" rather employed in wondering whither they would
" reach. The Governour, a perverse, violent, timid, ca-
" pricious and debauched man, perfectly agreed with
" Andrea. A sordid, yet expensive household; excess
" where it tended to licence,—and defect in every thing
" that constitutes dignity, marked this Governour's œco-
" nomy. Midnight heard, but did not terminate the up-
" roar of his festivities; whilst in the morning, the halls
" and galleries of his palace seemed to belong to some de-
" serted mansion: not a domestick was to be seen, nor
" did they retain any traces of being inhabited, save that
" they were stained with the surfeit of the over-night's
" debauch.

XI.

“ If the bill they rejected, he smper’d and said,
 “ That the King wou’d appoint a new house in
 their stead ;
 “ And as for the place-men, they’d forfeit their
 “ bread ;”

Which nobody should deny.

XII. The

“ debauch. If you were sent for by Borgia, on business
 “ the most important, from the farthest part of the domi-
 “ nion, he frequently was not to be found ; so that you
 “ returned without even seeing him, unless you might
 “ perhaps descry him stealing through a postern to
 “ avoid the conference which he himself had appointed.
 “ His private favours were insults ; his publick measures
 “ were injuries ; and if some of his base qualities had not
 “ frustrated others of them, his administration must have
 “ been publick ruin. His cruelty was equal to the das-
 “ tardliness of his spirit. One instance will suffice. Cer-
 “ tain soldiers having been sentenced to be shot, he order-
 “ ed all the boys, who performed the martial musick of
 “ the battalion, to attend the ceremony of the execution ;
 “ and the more to sport with the sympathy of their tender
 “ minds, he commanded them to walk round and round
 “ the panting corse of these unhappy victims, that not a
 “ convulsion, nor an agony of expiring nature might es-
 “ cape their sensibility. Amidst the contempt of the wise,
 “ the detestation of the good, and the fury of the popu-
 “ lace, Borgia and his favourite Andrea, continued to
 “ consort in every vice and folly. Wisdom was, if pos-
 “ sible, ensnared ; Integrity corrupted ; and Beauty de-
 “ ceived and injured. Never were two men more fitted
 “ for each other, nor for the pursuits in which they were
 “ naturally engaged. They had no character to forfeit ;
 “ they had no compunctions to elude.”

Doctor Wilder.

XII.

The matter was grave, and all joke was a-part ;
 Joe Miller, Poor Robin, and Watſon ſo ſmart,
 Were now of no uſe, though he had them by heart ;
 Which nobody can deny.

N 4

XIII. The

(16) A very able and ſtrong-built counſellor at law ; who maketh many facetious and eloquent ſpeeches in parliament. His action is forcible and eaſy ; his figure graceful and compact ; the expreſſion of his countenance amiable and forbidding—and his matter equal upon all ſubjects. He formed himſelf on the model of Mr. Malone, and Mr. Hutchinson—both of whom he much excelleth—the former in dignity and argument, the latter in wit and dexterity. His ſervices have been greatly under-rated by Government. he having as yet only gotten an employment of 1500l. per Ann. beſide another of 600l. per Ann. which he purchaſed.—Nothing but his great intimacy with Sir George Macartney, could have retarded his advancement. He publickly expoſed the ignorance of Judge Blackſtone in point of law, and very much damaged the firſt volume of his Commentaries, not only by handling it very roundly, but by giving it ſeveral thumps againſt the benches, with much grace and energy. And it is to this tranſaction the poet alludeth by the words, “ elegant clout.”

Authors of the notes on the epiſtle to G. E. Howard.

(17) A raſh and unthinking man, who prefers ſpeculative notions of liberty to the ſolid and ſubſtantial intereſt of himſelf and his family. He is a great ſloven in his dreſs ; and has twice reſuſed to be made a chief judge, though preſſed thereto by Mr. Juſtice Robinſon and others.

G. Nangle.

(18) This gentleman, conſidering the great expectations with which he began the world, hath been unlucky. He was ſent to Ruſſia as an ambaffador, where he got the rheumatism ; and in his return through Poland, he was knighted

XIII.

The Prime Serjeant then, with a shuffling preamble ;

Like a nag, that, before he can canter, must amble,
Betwixt right and wrong made a whimsical sham-
ble,

Which nobody can deny.

XIV. "Twas

knighted. He no sooner got to London, than he had the misfortune to be appointed secretary to Lord Townshend. His connexion with a certain unpopular Earl, it is imagined, brought these things upon him. He has the best memory in the world, and retaineth a multitude of things, which nobody else ever remembered. He not only hath by heart Joe Miller, but the Wit's Vade Mecum, the Merry Fellow, Nash's Jests, Every Man his own Companion, and a variety of other ingenious authors, so as that he is never at a loss for something to say.

By poor Robin.

We are told, that the poet alludeth to a celebrated antient ode, intituled, "the Babes of the Wood."—That shining performance, Watson's Almanack, was of singular service to this gentleman and to his country, and gave him great influence in the northern courts, by enabling him to foretel an eclipse. He hath a large rental, which he ordered to be laid on the table of the House of Commons for the perusal of the members. His remembering, and quoting, during dinner, at lord Holland's table, every word of a pamphlet, written by his lordship, entitled, "Every Man his own Broker," recommended him much to that nobleman's attention, who generously gave him just notions of the prerogative royal. When the Commons pretended to share with the privy council in framing money-bills, he spoke roundly to them, and told them, that it was very ungenteel, when they were giving a present, to make a rout about it, or as he very significantly expressed it,

XIV.

“ ’Twas *important*, he said—and avail’d not
 a groat,
 “ But whether it was right, or whether it was
 naught,
 “ Or whether he’d vote for it, or whether he
 wou’d not,”

He’d neither assert, nor deny.

—N 5

XVI. The

it, “ to look a gift-horse in the mouth.”—He is a man of great abilities, but he is so modest that he can never bring himself to make much use of them; and publicly declared, one day when he expected to die of the gripes, or some obstruction, in the parliament-house, that he would have no monument, being satisfied to be entombed in the hearts of his countrymen.

Authors of the notes on the epistle to G. E. Howard.

(19) What diverts me most in this ge’mman is, his anxiety for fear of losing popularity, as if he had any to lose. He is jealous of me, and as peevish as an old maid. I love to tease him. I endeavour to put him on as odious ground as I can in parliament, and then I am the first to complain to him, that Government should expose their servants to so much obloquy without occasion. I magnify to him the favours and confidence I receive from Government, and my correspondence with Rigby, &c. which nettles him to the heart. He is too finical for Lord Townshend, who makes very good sport of him. One day he dined at the Castle, and when the company broke up, lord Townshend, who pretended to be more in liquor than he was, threw his arms about his neck, and cried out, “ my dear Tisdall, My sheet anchor! My whole dependance! “ Don’t let little Hutchinson come near me; keep him off, “ my dear friend; he’s damned tiresome, keep him off.”

Att

XV.

The next that step'd forward was (20) innocent Phil,
 Who said, " that in things of the kind he'd no skill,
 " But yet that he thought it a *mighty good bill*."
 Which nobody cou'd deny.

XVI. Then

At other times his Excellency makes formal appointments to dine at Palmerstown at a distant day. The Prime Serjeant invites all the officers of state : Mrs. Hutchinson is in a flurry ; they send to me for my cook ; and after a fortnight's bustle, when dinner is half spoil'd, his Excellency sends an excuse, and dines with any common acquaintance that he happens to meet in strolling about the street that morning. This ge'mman has a pretty method enough of expressing himself indeed, but, in points of law, there are better opinions. My friend the late Primate, who knew men, said, that the Prime Serjeant was the only person he had ever met with, who got ready money in effect, for every vote he gave in parliament. He has got, among the rest, the reversion of my secretary's office ; but I think I shall outlive him. Phil. Tisdall.

(20) This gentleman has not been long in parliament ; and has not had an opportunity, therefore, of learning the craft of politicks : But with the simplicity and innocence of youth and inexperience, has always espoused the popular party in this country, and resisted the encroachments of the Crown. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he has never received any considerable favours from Government, or that his offices at present should not exceed 5000*l.* per Annum. He has, however, obtained lately a reversionary grant of the Alnager's place, after the death of John Hely Hutchinson, esq; with a promise, that a pension

XVI.

Then mov'd to adjourn 'till Monday or fo,
 " That Townshend might talk to each friend and
 each foe,
 " And then he could guess how the matter
 wou'd go ;"
 Which nobody can deny.

XVII.

'Thus Hely, Sir George, Godfrey, Power, and
 Phil,
 Would fain have seduced them to swallow this
 pill ;
 But the Commons soon smoak'd them, and threw
 out the bill ;
 Which nobody can deny.

XVIII. And

tion of 1000l. a year at will, which the latter hath lately
 obtained, shall be annexed to the office as an additional
 salary, for the life of the said Philip Tisdall ; which ac-
 counts for that inviolable affection which subsists between
 them. He gave his interest in Ardee to Mr. Ruxton
 against his own brother, rather than disturb the antient and
 well-grounded rights of that worthy patriot ; and gene-
 rously refused to harraß that gentleman with a vexatious
 suit, assisted by a confederacy in the courts and on the
 bench, though he might thereby have put money into his
 said brother's pocket, who is an officer of the court, and at
 least have enabled him to have carried on the contest at Mr.
 Ruxton's expence.
 Dick Dawson.

XVIII.

And here we conclude our historical strain;
 So God blefs his Majesty, (21) long may he reign
 To alter our money-bills always—in vain!
 Which nobody can deny.

(21) I hope this will amount to high treason! It wishes his Majesty to live long, but then it is only on condition it should seem; and that a condition, which, it is to be hoped, will fail; viz. that his Majesty may be frustrated in the assertion of his prerogative over the money of his subjects.—May not this be construed into a species of imagining the King's death? Quere. Vide Scroggs, and Jeffries,—the doctrine on Ship-money,—and my pamphlet in 1753 above all.
 Christ. Robinson.

LETTER

LETTER XXXV.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Feb. 4, 1772.

THE sagacity of malicious speculation may, perhaps, be at loss to account for the motives, which induce me thus frequently to trouble your Lordship. The man, who is unknown, cannot hope for fame; and the man who writes against Government, the fountain of recompence, cannot expect reward. *Personality* is not the character of my writings; nor indeed have I had the temptation of private injury to seduce me to it. Your Lordship has never injured me in any respect, other than *as I am an Irishman*; and if I bear any prepossession against you, I bear it in common with millions; it is that prepossession which every friend of liberty must entertain against an Administration, the professions and practices of which are subversive of freedom. Your Lordship perhaps will smile when I assert, what I know to be the truth, that I write solely for the good of my country; nor am I much disposed to controvert your merriment, or to deprive you, amidst your various difficulties and disgraces, of your only consolation;

solation ; that of laughing at every thing which is serious.

You affect to despise defeat, yet *canvass* the House of Commons on every petty question, with a feminine sollicitude ;—you pretend to disregard the printed strictures on your conduct, and yet have the *condescension* to speculate as to the authors of them, and the *justice* to decide on your speculation.

You are happily assisted in the labour of these conjectures, by the laureats of your household, by your aids-de-camps in politicks ;—and to enhance their own merit and consequence, as your advocates, they have attributed these hostile productions to respectable and senatorial names.—But, surely, you cannot believe that gentlemen, whose public conduct has already bid defiance to your resentment, should be so insensible to fame, as to hide under an anonymous publication, any thing so popular as an impeachment of your Excellency's conduct.

BUT your Lordship's experience might have taught you, that it is not the representation of others, but our own actions, that stamp our characters. And how could you, my Lord, whose thirst for glory could rob the grave of Laurels, which ought to have been sacred to another, be
so

so inconsistently rapacious as to aspire to a reproach which needed not to have been your's ?

WHEN the wishes of a nation obtained the bill for limiting the duration of Parliament, your Excellency candidly relinquished the honour of the law, by disclaiming the patronage, and reviling the principle, of it. But why you should exceed the malice of your enemies, so far as to assume to yourself the dishonour of the altered money-bill, I cannot conjecture !

A MAN,—whose name is only known by your countenance and adoption—whose sentiments are your pleasure, and whose subsistence your bounty—has, in a newspaper, published under your auspices, and sustained by the contributions of Government, formally justified the practice of altering our money-bills.

WAS your Lordship jealous, lest any attack should be made on the country you govern, of which you were not supposed to be the author, or promoter ? Your opponents in Parliament did not ascribe those alterations to you : Why should you, in your prudence, think it necessary to vindicate to yourself this charge, in spite of your enemies, by employing, in defence of such alterations, the hand that moves by your direction, and thus affixing,

ing, as it were, your *privy seal* to the transaction?

SINCE however you have chosen to appropriate to yourself the principle, by undertaking the defence, of these alterations, in your polemical gazette—let us examine how far the pen of a Viceroy has been able to sustain the doctrine of tyrants.—You cite one authority, and instead of inferences from it, you substitute assertion—Your words are these,* “ In the year, 1729, the Commons passed an altered money-bill, *without abridging their own privilege*, or betraying the rights of the people, which are effectually secured by the *power of rejecting*, constitutionally vested in the house.”

You say, that the Commons did not abridge their privilege by their act in 1729!—It follows then, by your admission, that the privilege is at this day exactly the same as if that act had not been done—and that therefore this instance cannot have any influence whatsoever upon the present argument.—If it could, your assertion “ that the privilege was not impaired by it,” is so far false; and if it cannot, your precedent is idle, and your application of it absurd.

BUT you say, “ that this privilege is *effectually secured* by the *power* vested in the Commons of *rejecting*

* See the Batchelor of Jan. 5, 1772.

“*jecting* money-bills.” — Now their privilege with respect to money either is something *more* than the power of rejection, or it is not: — If it be *not* any thing more, then they have *no privilege* whatsoever as to money — for what is a privilege? It is a *right peculiar*. — Now the power of rejecting money-bills is not so — for the Commons can reject all *other* bills as well as money-bills, and the King and the Lords can reject money-bills, as well as the Commons. — On the other hand, if it be something *more*; then, it is not effectually secured by the bare *power of rejection*: It *may*, indeed, be secured by that power, provided that power be invariably *exercised in every instance of infringement* — because, if so, no infringement can ever take place. — Now this only shews that it *may be*, but proves, that it is not *necessarily, and of course* secured by this power; for the *bare power*, implies only a *liberty* of rejecting — whereas the privilege can only be preserved by actual rejection.

How egregiously absurd then is it in your Lordship to assert, that the privilege of the Commons is secure in the *power* of rejection, and to use that as an argument against the *exercise* of that power; when it is the *exercise* of the power in every case of infringement, and *not* the *power* itself, that is the security? But in quoting Primate Boulter, your ecclesiastical oracle, your Excellency has been *partial* — had you cited the whole passage, it would have appeared, that the Commons in 1729, instantly

stantly took fire at the violation of their privilege, and were impregnated with the same sentiments which inspired the Commons in 1753, in 1769, and in 1771; but they were deceived (as you attempted to deceive the Commons this session on a similar occasion) by an insidious question of adjournment; and during that adjournment they were (as the Right Reverend Prelate informs us,) betrayed into a temporary compliance, to the disadvantage of their rights.—A *temporary* compliance I say!—For in the next session, to atone to posterity for their offence, and to rescind, as far as they could, so dangerous a precedent, they came to the following decision: Resolved *nemine contradicente*, “that this house will not proceed upon
 “any petition, motion, address, *bill*, or vote of
 “credit, for giving any money, unless the mat-
 “ter shall have *first* taken its *due progress* in the
 “Committees of *Supply* and *Ways and Means*.” This they declared a *standing order*. Now this not only recognizes the great right of the Commons to originate all money-grants, but—as any alteration in England touching the *matter* of the Bill of Supply, must for so much be an introduction of *new matter*, which cannot by possibility, have *first taken its due progress in the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means*,—it is clear, that this resolution was framed to render it impossible, that any money-bill, so *altered*, should pass for the future.

AND now, my Lord, having dispatched your argument,—let me touch on your personality. You triumph

triumph in having discovered, that the conduct of Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Brownlow, with respect to the altered *bill* in 1753, was inconsistent with their conduct, relative to the altered *money-bill* of this session.—Now what was the case of 1753?—There was a redundancy in the Treasury, arising from *former grants*.—In consequence of that, a bill for *applying* a part of that redundancy to the discharge of the national debt, was that session transmitted to Great Britain. The Ministers of the Crown, thinking that such a bill tended to *dispossess* his Majesty of the right, which they supposed, in ordinary course, to belong to him, of *applying* all money, which had been once granted to him by the people, did, in the speech from the Throne, in order to guard the prerogative, signify his Majesty's *previous consent* to such a bill. And the bill was altered in England, *solely* for the purpose of inserting in the preamble, “that his Majesty's previous consent had been *so given*.”—Thus, the alteration was not an imposition, nor alteration of any *duty*. Thus, the bill was not a bill for *raising* or *granting* money, but for *applying* money *already raised and granted*. It was not a bill of *taxation*, or *supply*; but of *disposition*, and in some measure of *reassumption*; it was not a bill for giving power to the Crown, but taking power away from the Crown. The dispute was not about the *peculiar privilege* of the Commons in *granting* money, but about the *ordinary prerogative* of the Crown in *applying* money *already granted*. In short,
one

one side affirmed, it *was* a money-bill, and the other side asserted it *was not*. And though I admit, that they were the more provident and cautious, who rejected the altered bill, because it *appertained* unto money, yet I maintain, that nothing, but the most extreme disingenuity, could insinuate that a difference of conduct upon two occasions so dissimilar, involves inconsistency.

BUT what shall we say of your Excellency's congruity, when you charge Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Ponsonby with want of uniformity, and omit Mr. Pery; whose conduct in that particular coincided with theirs. But it seems it has *of late* been the tone of the Court to make encomiums on Mr. Pery. How long it will last I know not.—But I fear the liberal principles which endear him to his country, will work in due time as an *alterative* upon this partiality of the Castle. At present it is useful to contrast him with Mr. Ponsonby—your Excellency is aware of it.—It is sometimes worth while to suppress one's resentment against the real virtue of one man, for the purpose of conveying a groundless accusation against another.—Your Lordship is acquainted with the stratagem of the *stalking-horse*; and when you wish to *level* at Mr. Ponsonby, you put Mr. Pery *between* you.

YOUR Excellency is not in the wrong to cultivate the shade of Mr. Pery.—His growth and stature may sometimes shelter you.—But trust me,
my

my Lord, you are but ill defended by your penmen of the Green-cloth, and by your military amanuensis. They are *too little* to afford you concealment or protection. Poor gentlemen!—Condemned not only to the unprofitable labours of native sterility, but devoted to digest and circulate *your Lordship's* crudities;—to transmit your resentments, to reconcile your incoherences, and to father your abortions!—Who, but must commiserate their lot, the present condition of which is, three times a week to undergo the drudgery of imposed composition; and whose only prospect is the miserable reversion of a doubtful gratitude, and of a capricious bounty?—

AMIDST the miscarriage of their toils, they have one consolation.—They must be sufficiently indifferent to your Excellency's person and government.—They are the Swiss of literature; they fight for *bread*, and not for *victory*; and all they desire is, to protract the warfare.—If in the lottery of the press, any composition of theirs in your Lordship's favour should turn up, not altogether a blank; it were natural to suppose that they might wish, that its effect were weakened by the confutation of discourse, and that the antidote were administered of a little private *observation* on your Excellency.

SOMETIMES indeed, (not with a view to compensation doubtless) they assume the part of champions,

pions, and speak of the wounds they have received in your Lordship's cause.—Perhaps it is unnecessary to guard your Excellency against the overflowings of generosity!—But if ever the inadvertency of your nature should incline you to any such excess, it will justify you in your return to œconomy, to reflect, that their sufferings from your adversaries, will as little entitle them to recompence, as their services to you. Their poverty has attracted pity.—Their impotence has defended them from resentment, and their obscurity from retaliation.

IF at any time they shall be compelled even to traduce a patron, or to wound a friend, they are not much to be condemned.—The pen and the poniard of the mercenary, are scarcely his own.—The state of slaves is too low for friendship, or for honour. The man who employs them ought to remember, that this is the property of their condition ; and that he, who has purchased away their *virtue*, deserves to suffer by their *vice*.

FABRICIUS.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

S I R,

Feb. 6, 1772.

THE ballad, which I sent you a few days ago, having, I find, gone through a second edition, I make no doubt you will give a place in your entertaining paper to two others, sent herewith. They are not indeed enriched with such *learned* and *curious* notes, and they relate chiefly to transactions, which happened somewhat more than a year ago ; the ever-memorable *protest* and *prorogation* : but they exhibit very striking likenesses of some eminent personages, and a lively picture of the early part of Lord Townshend's administration. In that light, perhaps, they deserve to outlive the occasions that produced them. — If the Muse should again inspire the bards of Fishamble-street, you may perhaps hear once more from

Green Man
Fishamble-Street.

Your constant Reader

CANTILENA.

A LIST

A LIST OF THE PACK.

TUNE, BALLYNAMONY.

I.

Fellow citizens all, to my ballad give ear,
 That we must be undone I will make it appear,
 Unless in defence of our freedom we stand
 'Gainst Townshend, that dunce, and his damnable
 band.

Then kick out those rascally knaves, boys,
 Freemen we'll be to our graves, boys,
 Better be dead than be slaves, boys,
 A coffin or freedom for me.

II.

But plainly to prove what I here have set down,
 Regardless and fearless who smile or who frown,
 As a palpable proof that all must go to rack,
 I'll give you their marks, and a list of the pack.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

III.

At the head of the list set down A———y first,
 The chief of his favourites, because he's the worst,
 To

To shew himself worthy and fit for his trust,
 Without judgment a judge, he makes justice unjust.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

IV.

Frank A——s comes next, of corruption the sink,
 What a dog must he be, who's a rogue in his drink!
 No wonder he's fat, since our mis'ry's his food,
 And he daily gets drunk with poor Ireland's life-
 blood.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

V.

Lo T——l whose looks would make honest men
 start,
 Who hangs out in his face the black sign of his
 heart,
 If you thought him no devil, his aim he would
 miss,
 For he would, if he could, appear worse than he is.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VI.

Yet T——l unfeeling, and void of remorse,
 Is still not the worst,—H——y H——n's worse—
 Who feels ev'ry crime, yet his feelings defies,
 And each day stabs his country with tears in his
 eyes.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

O

VII. See

VII.

See squinting T——e, from the Primate's black
 school,
 Whom merciful nature design'd for a fool ;
 T——e, whom not even his folly can save,
 For in nature's despight he will needs be a knave.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

VIII.

If a sinner repentant can angels delight,
 To Devils an apostate's as pleasing a sight,
 Nor has there been ever such bonfires in Hell
 Since Judas's fall, as when O——e fell.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

IX.

But why must I mention the Knight of *three crows* ?
 His name is unworthy of verse or of prose ;
 To lash such a reptile would satire disgrace ;
 'Tis but *ex officio* he here has a place.
 Then kick out those rascally knaves, &c.

X.

Shall such wretches as these o'er our patriots pre-
 vail,
 And be suffer'd to set our poor country at sale ?
 No,

No,—let us all join in defence of our right,
And let Ponsonby, Shannon, and Leinster unite,
To kick out those rascally knaves, boys,
Freemen we'll be to our graves, boys,
Better be dead than be slaves, boys,
A coffin or freedom for me.

ADVICE FROM THE LIBERTY;

OR, THE WEAVER'S GARLAND.

I.

My dear fellow subjects, who love to be free,
Despise not my ballad, but listen to me,
Accept good advice from a brother, a friend,
Who writes for your good, and for no other end.
Derry down, down, down derry down.

II.

My name is Dick White, I'm a weaver by trade;
I hide not my name, since of none I'm afraid;
And though I want wit, and my verse rudely jingle,
I'll tell you a story shall make your ears tingle.
Derry down, &c.

III.

Our King, Heaven blefs him, and keep him from
ill !

Our friend has been ever, and would be fo ftill ;
A curfe on thofe traitors, who make him appear
At odds with his people, that hold him fo dear !

Derry down, &c.

IV.

This rascally herd, to the Devil I pitch 'em !
(Must we toil, and labour, and sweat, to enrich 'em ?)
To ferve their own purpofe, and mifchievous ends,
First ftrove to enslave our American friends.

Derry down, &c.

V.

Nor even of our breth'ren of England afraid,
With Star-chamber warrants their rights they in-
vade ;

And to bring all their villainous fchemes to per-
fection,

They ftrike at the root, and the right of election.

Derry down, &c.

VI.

And next at poor Ireland they level their blows ;
Poor Ireland, that ftill has been led by the nofe :

And

And to shew they resolv'd both to ruin and fool her,
They send over Townshend, that blockhead, to
rule her.

Derry down, &c.

VII.

This Townshend, they knew, would their pur-
poses suit,
For the creature he was and the tool of Lord Bute;
To wade through their dirt he could never refuse,
For, *his character lost*, he had nothing to lose.

Derry down, &c.

VIII.

But lest we should struggle, the villains determine
To add to our number of red-coated vermin;
And swearing 'twas all for the good of the nation,
They got us to yield to their curs'd *augmentation*.

Derry down, &c.

IX.

And now we have granted them all they could ask,
They laugh at our folly, and throw off the mask;
They aim a bold stroke, all at once to undo
Our honour, our freedom, and property too.

Derry down, &c.

O 3

X. The

X.

The Commons, you know, who to us owe their
 station,
 Are our Stewards to guard the purse of the
 nation ;
 But now they declare, when our money is wanted,
 That the Council, as well as the Commons shall
 grant it.

Derry down, &c.

XI.

But G—— blefs our Commons, I mean the ma-
 jority,
 For Dick would not cry, if he damn'd the minority,
 At once they perceiv'd what a mischief was brewing,
 And flung out * the bill that was meant for our
 ruin.

Derry down, &c.

XII.

There's Lanesh'rough, and Shannon, and Leinster
 unite,
 Brave Leinster, our patron, whom none could
 affright,

All

† In-November, 1769.

All their friends to the House in a hurry they send,
Who, with Ponsonby join'd, may our freedom de-
fend.

Derry down, &c.

XIII.

And Charlemont firm, may the Heavens reward
him !

Whose heart is still open to us, like his garden ;
And Loftus * so powerful, and Longford so true,
All bring up their squadrons the fight to renew.

Derry down, &c.

XIV.

O'Brien, and Bingham, and Hussy, and Bushe,
With Flood at their head, the court parricides push,
And Brownlow, and Pery, who reason so just,
And Lucas, our Lucas, still true to his true !

Derry down, &c.

XV.

In fine the Court's routed, and Ireland is sav'd,
With such champions as these we can ne'er be en-
slav'd !

But now, see the spite of this rascally crew,
To the devil I pitch them, and give him his due.

Derry down, &c.

O 4

XVI. Our

* This noble Lord, after the transaction here alluded to,
in contempt of every social tie, deserted his country and his
friends.

XVI.

Our worthy Lieutenant comes down to the House,
 Protests their proceedings are not worth a louse,
 And leaving undone the affairs of the nation,
 The session concludes with a damn'd prorogation.
 Derry down, &c.

XVII.

Here mark, my dear friends, that our ruin's completed,
 Since a parliament's useless, which thus can be treated,
 While they serve his curs'd purpose, he'll fawn and
 colloque 'em,
 But if once they do right, he'll that instant pro-
 rogue 'em.
 Derry down, &c.

XVIII.

The next thing he does, by a sentence unjust,
 He turns out our friends from their places of trust,
 Our friends, who his villanies dar'd to oppose,
 And fills up their room with our deadliest foes.
 Derry down, &c.

XIX.

There's renegade O——e, and O——r mean,
 And M——n the malster, that scoundrel in grain,
 And

And Jacky whose merits if we would make known,
'Tis enough that we say he's your brother T——c.
Derry down, &c.

XX.

O why should I mention those wretches in place,
Their rascally names would my ballad disgrace!
In short, Townshend chose them in frolicksome
prank,
As matches for J——s, and for Bloomsbury Frank.
Derry down, &c.

XXI.

And now I have ended my forrowful tale,
I see you all weep, and poor Ireland bewail;
But courage, my friends, still there's hope left be-
hind,
All yet may be well, if my counsel you'll mind.
Derry down, &c.

XXII.

Those patriots, whom late we so steady have found,
Heaven bless them, and keep them! are still above
ground;
United together, our bulwark they stand,
And may still save the nation, if we lend a hand.
Derry down, &c.

XXIII.

Should Townshend dissolve, then the matter is
plain.

Without sixpence cost, we'll return them again ;
And ridding the House of those rascally elves,
We'll give them companions will vote like them-
selves.

Derry down, &c.

XXIV.

That G—— may bless Ireland, our prayer shall be
daily,
And save her from A——y, A——s, and H——y,
And we'll pray for our King, and a few of our
Peers,
And may our true Commons live out their eight
years!

Derry down, &c.

XXV.

My loyalty's firm, and be hang'd I would rather,
Than dare to deny that our King is our father ;
But then 'tis as true, that our country's our mother,
And that side we all know's much surer than t'other.

Derry down, &c.

XXVI. Then

XXVI.

Then let us with shouts our brave patriots pursue,
 And firmly stick by them, whatever they do ;
 For freemen we are, and will be to our graves,
 Since they, who have courage, need never be slaves.
 Derry down, &c.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

TO THE PRINTER.

S I R,

Feb. 25, 1772.

* **T**HE last measure of government (that complicated instance of avowed corruption and contempt for parliament) has created an indignation in the people, which Opposition without deserting, is far from having pacified. The nation is not now to be taught, that a signal contempt

* The House of Commons had resolved, "*that seven Commissioners had been found sufficient for the management of the Revenue ;*" and had ordered the Speaker to lay their resolution before the Lord Lieutenant to the end that it might be transmitted to his Majesty. Notwithstanding this resolution, five new Commissioners of Revenue were soon after appointed, all of them Members of Parliament; in consequence of which a resolution was proposed "*that the Commissioners of Excise should be suspended from their functions in Parliament.*"

contempt for the advice of Parliament, in pursuit of a measure of the highest national injury, is unconstitutional ; and that the mean apology of legal prerogative (if such an exertion of prerogative be legal) betrays a disposition to abuse the power of the Crown, and not a respect for the laws of the land. They see with resentment the authority of their country despised, in an attempt on its integrity, and an addition to its expences ; they have common sense, which is the best judge of their constitution, and common distress, which is a feeling judge of their ability. It is their spirit which gives support, as it is their cause which gives credit to opposition in Parliament: at once, the spring, by which it is fed, and the stream by which it is purified. The policy and the gratitude of the House of Commons should sustain and enliven the patriot ardour of the publick.——There are times of uncommon danger, and should, I think, be times of uncommon exertion. When the kingdom is injured in a *few* instances, it may not be treachery to moderate opposition ; we then refer to the general character, and known tendency of government, and excuse the indiscretions of a political father, who *in general* shews some affection for his children : but when we live in a reign, whose transgressions are not *oversights* ; on the contrary, whose spirit and bias are universal corruption, universal profligacy, a total contempt for
the

the rights, the virtue, and the property of the subject,—there is no place for speculation, no excuse for neutrality.

WE have not a people commercial and authoritative like the English. Our existence, as a nation, depends on our having a Parliament; and as the Lords have not retained unimpaired all the power of their assembly, the surviving authority of Parliament seems to reside in the House of Commons;—to maintain this assembly in all its powers, and in every honest exertion, must be the object of the publick. But these rights are not to be preserved by the humility of patriotism, nor the spirit of innovation to be withstood by it; the timid champion may provoke, but will never conquer.—As a part of the assertion of their dignity, the resolution of the House of Commons, to refuse its assistance to a new revenue law, was laudable. Their motive, for applying to their own resolution, rather than to any prepossession in the royal mind in favour of popular addresses, was well founded; for they knew the inefficacy of supplication: they saw it in the reception of the addresses of England, and felt it in the contempt of their own resolution. The spirit of the age, they understood, was to treat the people in the character of suppliants, not only with refusal, but with personal rudeness;—they therefore thought it adviseable no more to rely on foreign assistance, but to appeal to their constitutional

al and domestick resources,—their own resolutions:—they resolved that, when, in contradiction to the sense of Parliament and the interest of the kingdom, a headstrong spirit of corruption shall impose a vicious institution, the House of Commons will not co-operate in a measure which insults them, nor bring up the reere of mal-administration.—Prolific as the present Government is in schemes of national ruin, they will not furnish it with a dangerous encouragement, by giving practicability to a commission, which, notwithstanding all the mean assistance of the Senate, (if that should be given) must still remain an additional expence, an additional influence, an injury to the revenue, and an insult on Parliament.

WE do the King the honour to suppose, that when he sees the aukward and ruinous state of his revenue, (a danger of which he has been already forewarned) he will abandon a pernicious plan which his Commons condemned, and return to that antient system, of which their wisdom approved. If the revenue is now distracted, if the Commissioners cannot deserve their salaries, if there is neither effect nor order in the Customs, or the Excise, who is in fault?—The House of Commons, who had before condemned the addition, and could not now with spirit or consistency carry it into effect; or the Court, who, acquainted with the sense of the Commons, made an addition which could
not

not expect the assistance of Parliament, and which, without such assistance must distract the revenue? In binding up their Legislative, the House of Commons considered three things,—their dignity, their consistency, and the most eligible way of managing the revenue;—they were persuaded, and had determined, that the new commission was not the most eligible way of collecting the revenue, they considered their consistency in that determination, and consulted their dignity by not deserting an opinion so solemnly given, in compliance with the arrogance of the Court.

THIS step in the Commons was certainly justifiable, but not sufficient; and therefore the Opposition had recourse to *suspension*—— It has been by many considered as a severe and unconstitutional idea——it has not been understood.——The power of the House of Commons to punish for contempt, either by *expulsion* or *commitment* will hardly be called unconstitutional; and yet expulsion, with respect to the member, is infinitely more severe——because it is irrevocable, because it totally deprives him of his seat, and exposes him to the chance, the trouble, and the expence of a new election.——With respect to the constituent, *expulsion* is not more lenient than *suspension*; because during the interval between expulsion and a new election, the electors are unrepresented, and because during a similar interval, in the instance
of

of suspension, they may apply for their member, until which application they cannot complain, and until the refusal of such an application, Parliament cannot be called severe.

I do not, upon this occasion, adopt the modern doctrine of expulsion; but surely, a *ministerial character*, at this time, must have uncommon fortitude, and a great indifference about his electors, when he solicits expulsion instead of suspension;—"since consistency will not now permit him to disclaim the tenets of the Court, and obliges him to acknowledge, that expulsion is disqualification as to him, and may be the imposition of another candidate, against whom the majority of the constituents have voted.

WITH respect to commitment, it resembles suspension, in leaving the elector for a time unrepresented; but exceeds suspension, in inflicting a punishment on the member, and unites the objection to this suspension, to the hardship of penalty and personal confinement.

THE idea of the suspension proposed was no more than this, that when a member shall act in contempt of the House of Commons, and shall labour under the suspicion of corrupt influence,—the house upon defensive, not vindictive motives, will sequester him from the body he has insulted, and deprive him for a time, from acting in a trust, given by constituents

constituents when he was in another situation, and whom, in his present situation, he must probably injure, so long as he prefers the degrading emolument of his office to the representation of his electors, the esteem of the Commons, and the honour of sitting in Parliament.—Surely, in justice to the constituent, such a man ought to be suspended; and if his constituents desire a new election, let him, *at their desire*, be *expelled* also. But why go to extremes in the first instance?

WE wish to proceed by the gentlest methods, even on occasions, where effectual methods are indispensable, and it is, with concern, we are obliged to seek for a more solid security, than the amiable intercourse between the King and his subjects.—Discountenanced as we are at present, we must appeal from the facility of the royal ear to the Constitution itself; and upon this occasion, the Opposition endeavoured to inform Government, that acting within the sphere of its own authority, the House of Commons can prevent the increase of Court influence, and from a new project of corruption, derive a power to defeat the purpose of the measure, and at the same time diminish the following of the Court, stigmatize, and disappoint it. I say, they endeavoured to shew the publick, that the natural vigour of our constitution could counteract its disorders, and from the putrid violence of the distemper, derive a new health—a new purity.

STILL

STILL we are told by Ministry, that suspension is unwarrantable.—*That Ministry*, who maintained discretionary expulsion, consequential disqualification, and the unconstitutional substitution of a candidate, repulsed by a majority of the constituents, cannot be reconciled to the severity of suspension, that unmerciful and arbitrary proceeding, which does not expel, does not disqualify, does not force a rejected candidate on the electors—The formidable reserves of parliamentary privilege come upon their minds, and confound them.—If the House of Commons can suspend, its resolution, they pretend, may be equal to law. Where is the security of the subject? Where is the necessity of the place-bill?

WE pity the unhappy destiny of an Administration, which upon every occasion, is obliged to disclaim itself.—The Proteus of our Government descends to the meanness of a thousand shapes, without the good fortune of being concealed in any;—whenever it acts, wherever it is concerned, we always discover, in all its changes, a dangerous violence, and a foolish disguise.

AT a time, when it is the fashion of the Court, to see the latent dangers of parliamentary privilege, let me offer an exception in an humble privilege, which cannot offend, and which has been just violated—the privilege of advising—This
is

is no two-edged weapon, striking the Crown on one side, and the subject on the other, but a mediating power, which gives relief and decorum to popular impetuosity.——The Sovereign should consider, that by discountenancing this authority, he not only hazards the love of his people, but the tranquillity of his government, and that by compelling the ardent qualities of his people into a narrow and a painful compass, he may cause a convulsion, in which, not his dominions alone, but his throne may be confounded.

HORTENSIUS.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

*So, to effect his Monarch's ends,
 From hell a VICEROY devil ascends,
 His budget with corruptions cramm'd,
 The contributions of the damn'd,
 Which with unsparing hand he strews
 Round COURTS and SENATES as he goes,
 And then at Belzebub's black ball
 Complains his budget was too small.* SWIFT.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE LORD VISCOUNT
 TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

June. 1, 1772.

ALTHOUGH I have not
 presumed (as I am told dedicators generally do)
 previously to solicit your lordship's acceptance and
 patronage of the following trifle, yet do I flatter
 myself that the singularly peculiar propriety
 of this address will sufficiently apologize for my
 deviation from the accustomed mode.

THIS performance, my lord, could not be in-
 scribed to any other than your lordship. The great
 master of Caricatura, you are universally acknow-
 ledged.

ledged to stand at the head of that art, in which the following sketch is, I am sensible, no more than a rude and imperfect essay. To whom then should the pupil look up for countenance and protection but to the master, from the admiration and study of whose works he was first excited to imitate them, and whose experience of the difficulty has instructed him to make allowances for imperfection ?

THERE is yet another and a stronger reason, which impelled me to make this offering to your lordship. You, my lord, of all men, are (or ought to be) the best acquainted with the person, who is the principal figure in the piece before you, and are, of consequence, the best qualified to judge of the resemblance. I am aware that I incur the imputation of presumption and arrogance in no small degree, when I thus solicit the attention of the nicer critic ; but, my lord, I acknowledge my pride ; “ *principibus placuisse* ” is my great ambition ; and I should esteem my performance and myself more honoured by a smile of approbation from your lordship, than by the applause and admiration of the undiscerning million.

SOME friends of mine, my lord, who pretend also to be connoisseurs, insist that, as there are some features of so grotesque a cast, that no extravagance of colouring (though even from your lordship's pencil) can heighten the ridicule ; so are there some characters so distorted and deformed as to mock the
powers

powers of Caricatura. Upon this principle they further argue, that I am about to send this essay into the world under a false title, and that I should have called it, not a Caricatura, but an Historical Picture. This is a question, my lord, far beyond my abilities to determine, and, if I were qualified, it would ill become me to assume the decision : it is now before your lordship's and the publick tribunal, and I shall only say that, whatever the work be, it is most heartily at your service.

YOUR lordship will, perhaps, wonder that I conceal my name: I am a proud man, my lord, and incredible as it may appear to your lordship, I am also a modest one: I chuse therefore not to put myself in the way of those praises and rewards, which your gratitude and munificence would be solicitous to confer, and which would be equally offensive to my modesty and my pride.

WITH all that deference and regard which your lordship has so eminently deserved of every inhabitant of Ireland,

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's warmly devoted

And dutiful observant

(though unknown) admirer,

Trinity College.

THE AUTHOR.

THE VICEROY;

A POETICAL CARICATURE:

(Addressed to a certain great Lord.)

WHILE you, against both wind and tide,
The nation's bark attempt to guide,
(Though scarcely credible, 'tis true)
Without one seaman in your crew,
None wiser than yourself on board,
To mock the folly of his Lord;
Let an old Tar, who makes his boast
He knows the soundings and the coast,
Through many a storm hath work'd an oar,
And mark'd each rock from shore to shore,
Who, though he scorns the empty Master,
Would guard the Vessel from disaster;
Let him your ignorance advise,
(For once endeavour to be wise)
Let him, with no unfriendly view,
Point out the road you should pursue,
And save from everlasting shame
The ragged remnant of your fame.

YET,

YET, ere I enter on the task,
Permit me, gracious fir, to ask
What envious stars combin'd to pour,
Their influence on thy natal hour ?
Why you, whom first the forming mind
For walks of humbler life design'd,
To strut in some inferior part,
A Tyro of the graphic art,
With wretched pencil to debase
Heaven's favourite work, the human face,
To magnify and hold to shame
Each little blemish of our frame ;
Of talents, admirably fit
To play at hide and seek with wit,
And, ever blundering in the dark,
To aim at sense and miss the mark ;
Why you should quit the peaceful shore
And ... lly brave the tempest's roar ?
Why, like the As of Esop's day,
Who rudely ap'd the Spaniel's play,
Stranger alike to shame and fear,
You buz about the royal ear,
Mix with the honour'd few, who aim
By noble deeds to soar to fame,
And turn to farce— despised thing !——
The sacred character of king ?

SAY, could not one of all the train
That form your levee's motley scene,
No supple cringing hungry knave,
No pension'd tool, no mitred slave,

Who

Who courts with pious supplication
 Your godlike province of translation,
 No priest, whose hope on you alone
 Depends, to slumber on a throne,
 No essenc'd fop, or wit profess,
 Who simper's o'er the mangled jest,
 And, self-complacent to a wonder,
 Bows round and smiles at every blunder,
 Could none inform you of this truth,
 (A lesson fit for earliest youth,
 So plain 'twere needless to defend it,
 * Sir George himself may comprehend it)

P

Though

* Sir George.) When the critics, some centuries hence, shall comment upon this poem, they will not be a little gravelled to discover, what Sir George was meant by the author in this place. We may suppose some one of them thus gravely offering his conjecture:—‘ The commentators are all in the dark concerning the person here pointed at : the learned *Lipsius Minor* holds it to have been Sir George Saville, a spirited and independent baronet, whom historians mention as making a considerable figure amongst the remonstrants of those distempered times. Scriblerianus imagines it was George Faulkner, an eminent author, book-seller, and printer, of that æra, whose name hath been handed down to us, and shall be transmitted to the most remote posterity in those invaluable, though scarcely legible, records, the Dublin Journals : his friends, out of pleasantry, were wont to call him sir George, the prince of printers, the emperor of Grub, the oaken-footed Elzevir, &c. and innumerable testimonies assure us, that, if he was not really knighted, he deserved the honour much better than many of his contemporaries, who received it.—The better opinion, however, seemeth to be that the sir George here meant
 ‘ was

Though unpretending dulness finds
 Compassion from the sternest minds,
 And, if through common life we tread,
 We ask the heart and not the head,
 Yet, circumstance of place and time
 Makes incapacity a crime.

How long, devoted land, shalt thou
 † To meanness, pride, and folly, bow ;

The

‘ was a right honourable and distinguished personage, who
 ‘ was chief writing-clerk and remembrancer to the noble
 ‘ lord to whom the epistle is addressed. It is related of
 ‘ him, that all the copies of a work then much in request,
 ‘ and particularly admired by his patron, called Joe Mil-
 ‘ ler’s Jests, being accidentally consumed in the great fire
 ‘ in the year 1769, he undertook for a considerable sum of
 ‘ money, from the meer strength of his memory, to furnish
 ‘ a bookseller with a copy for the press : but, behold !
 ‘ when the expected publication appeared, it was full of
 ‘ blunders and interpolations : the stories indeed were re-
 ‘ tained ; but the jest appeared to have evaporated, and a
 ‘ *caput mortuum* only remained.’

‘ N. B. Persons were in those days styled right honour-
 ‘ able, not, as now, for their own merits and abilities on-
 ‘ ly, but merely as being members of a certain ministerial
 ‘ junto or cabal, called, the privy-council, which has been
 ‘ long since abolished, and which was even then become so
 ‘ infamous, that no person of any character would accept
 ‘ of the degrading distinction : Strype has preserved a
 ‘ letter from a noble duke about this time requesting to
 ‘ have his name struck out of the list.’——

Scaligerianus.

† A learned friend, who is now employed in writing
 notes, and an ample commentary upon this poem, to be
 annexed

The passive prey of every tool
 That bends to Bute's despotic rule?
 How long implore with fruitless prayer
 A *present* father's fostering care?
 He to an happier sister-isle
 Confines, alas! the partial smile:
 There, while the royal splendors stream,
 Her children bless the genial beam,
 Which wide, thro' all the favour'd ground
 Diffuses life and vigour round;

P 2

Whilst

annexed to some future edition, for his own and the public emolument, (*more Warburtoniano*) has permitted the author to publish the following specimen of his powers of critical investigation.—‘ There is much satire concealed
 ‘ under these words, meanness, pride, and folly : a short
 ‘ review of the characters of some late chief governors will
 ‘ furnish us with a key :—The distinguishing character-
 ‘ istic of the Hertford administration is universally allowed
 ‘ to have been a meanness, almost beggarly, even in the
 ‘ expences of his household ; some have gone so far as to say,
 ‘ that his excellency’s turnspit, having been a few days
 ‘ missing, was at last found to have littered in the oven :
 ‘ the empty splendor, and ostentatious magnificence of his
 ‘ predecessor have justly subjected him to the charge of
 ‘ pride : his grace of Bedford, having an equal title :
 ‘ to each quality, may walk down to posterity in either
 ‘ character :—But, what head shall we find for the cap of
 ‘ folly ? The earl of Halifax, his bitterest enemies will
 ‘ admit to be no fool ; it is charity to wish that he had
 ‘ never merited a more disgraceful appellation : the word
 ‘ folly then we acknowledge to be a *dignus vindice nodus*,
 ‘ and therefore leave it to the sagacity of some future com-
 ‘ mentator.’ —————

Grubæus.

Whilst * Erin, deep immerst in night,
 Nor feels the beam, nor hails the light,
 Chear'd not with one benignant ray,
 Since † Chesterfield's unclouded day ;
 That day, to fond remembrance dear,
 Still honour'd by a grateful tear,
 When first an happy people knew
 From Stanhope's care what kings should do ;
 When last, perhaps, was clearly shewn
 The bright distinction of a throne.

‡ LUCAS, for whose unwearied care
 To heaven ascends the general prayer,

Whose

* Erin.) One of the ancient names of Ireland.

† An ingenious foreigner, speaking of the national character of the Irish, has the following observation :—‘ I cannot here avoid condemning one part of the behaviour of these people ; they are too fond of their governors before trial, and too often have cause to be dissatisfied with them after : this carries an appearance of lightness and inconstancy, which is not the character of the people, for they seem very mindful of those who have governed them wisely and generously, and there is one Chesterfield whom they sometimes remember with pleasure at their feasts.’

Armenian letters, written in the year 1756.

‡ Doctor Charles Lucas, late representative in parliament for the city of Dublin, a gentleman, who (as is always the case where party draws the character) hath received a measure both of censure and of panegyric, much beyond his deservings: one merit however, his most embittered enemies are compelled to allow him; viz. a consistency and uniformity of parliamentary conduct, in which, it is but bare justice to say, he stood without a rival.—This poem was written in the lifetime of Dr. Lucas, though not published 'till after his death.

Whose patriot heart with honest pride
 For years hath stemm'd corruption's tide,
 Say thou, "in various nature wise,"
 What boots how pure the fountain rise,
 If, tainted by the course it came,
 We loathe the violated stream?

O THOU, in whom concenter'd shine
 The virtues of the Brunswic line,
 To whom heaven's bounty hath assign'd
 The fairest lot of human kind,
 To rule in peace with steady hand
 The sovereign of a willing land,
 What 'vail's it o'er a distant plain,
 That freedom hail thy golden reign, §

P 3

That

§ The discontented, of whom (incredible as it may appear) there are not a few, will here, perhaps be ready to cry out, "Praise undeserved is satire in disguise."—But what person, who coolly considers the blessings he enjoys under the present mild and equitable administration, who contemplates the undecaying, the unaffailed vigour of the British constitution, what man, I say, but will exclaim with grateful indignation.

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint,
 Angligenas!

For my own part, I acknowledge, that, in what light soever our present most gracious sovereign presents himself to my view, he fails not to call to my remembrance that very beautiful and animated apostrophe of Swift to his royal grandfather:

Fair Britain, in thy Monarch blest,
 Whose virtues bear the strictest test;

Whom

That commerce blefs the happy ground,
 And art's sweet bloſſoms ſmile around ?
 What boots that heaven each grace impart
 Which forms to worth thy liberal heart,
 In ev'ry joy that claims a ſhare,
 That feels for ev'ry human care ?
 Say, what to us—in evil hour
 If tyrant hands aſſume thy pow'r,
 If, ſtill conſign'd to knave or fool,
 We curſe the delegated rule ?
 Britannia, in her Monarch bleſſ'd,
 May boaſt the virtues of his breaſt,
 The medium foul, the mirror baſe,
 No genuine feature can we trace.

Good heav'n ! for what peculiar crimes,
 Beyond the guilt of former times,
 Is Ireland ever doom'd by fate
 To groan beneath oppreſſion's weight ?
 To nourish with her beſt encrease
 The fell deſtroyers of her peace ?
 Domeſtick traitors to her cauſe,
 Who ſell her rights and ſpurn her laws ;
 And alien vermin, who devour
 Her ripen'd fruit and opening flow'r,
 Yet, with illiberal ſelfiſh aim,
 Conſine and circumscribe the ſtream,

Which

Whom never faction could beſpatter,
 Nor miniſter nor poet flatter.
 What juſtice in rewarding merit !
 What magnanimity of ſpirit !
 What lineaments divine we trace
 Through all his figure, mein, and face ! &c.

Which bounteous heav'n ordain'd to run
 Free as thy beams, all-chearing sun ?
 Infatiate pests of human kind,
 Whose poison taints the royal mind,
 Corrupts the fountain at its source,
 And turns each blessing to a curse ?
 What crimes, I say, hath Ireland shewn
 Which Britain claim not as her own ?
 Hot from the violated bed
 Doth rank adultery rear her head
 With fouler stains ?——“ No,” Grafton cries * ;
 “ No,” Grosvenor for the herd replies.
 Or hath some bold bad man appear'd,
 To every touch of conscience fear'd,
 Form'd by some Dæmon in his rage,
 A chosen curse to mark the age,
 Who, singular in vice and odd,
 Disdains the paths by others trod,
 Whose giant-guilt hath soar'd so high
 It madly rushes to the sky,
 And calls from heav'n's vindictive hand
 The full perdition on our land ?
 To Britain turn——there † Rigby thrives ;
 Weymouth his country's wreck survives ;

P 4

In

* The breaches of the matrimonial contract here pointed at are too recent to render a circumstantial detail necessary.

† Rigby, &c.) “ To preserve the perishable infamy” of these detested names (amongst many others equally illustrious) and to hand them down to posterity in their native colours, without diminution or impair, an ingenious gentleman is now preparing for the press, a work, intitled, *An History of the British Worthies of our own Times* ; in this will appear a full display of the hallowed mysteries

Dashwood yet lives, and Sandwich still
 Claims the pre-eminence in ill :—
 Fall'n as we are, a set so vile
 Was ne'er the produce of *our* isle.

YET, thanks to Ruffel's generous care,
 This isle her crop in time may bear ;
 In time—but distant be the hour !—
 May nurse a March, or boast a Gower,
 And rival on the rolls of shame
 A Norton's execrable name :
 Thanks, Ruffel, thanks !—The mighty debt
 Ierne never shall forget :
 Safe treasured in her grateful breast
 Thy unexampled bounties rest ;
 Thy efforts for her wealth's increase,
 Thy fond attention to her peace ;
 † Thy active valour, which of yore
 Frighted invasion from her shore,

Martur'd

of the Monks of Bedmenham-abbey, and some anecdotes
 of the Beef-steak-Club, never before published.

† Thy active valour.) Valour has been divided by
 some writers, into the active and the passive; for which of
 these his Grace of Bedford stands most particularly distin-
 guished, the work hinted at in the foregoing note will
 probably determine. It is certain, however, that when
 Thurot, with this handful of ill-appointed free-booters,
 made a descent upon our Northern coast, he was actually
 preparing, with all the activity and expedition consistent
 with military discipline and field-parade, to chastise in
 person the insolent invader; but Thurot, terrified at his
 preparations, (or having compleated his purpose of excit-
 ing a general alarm) retired precipitately, and deprived
 his Grace of the laurels which he must unavoidably have
 reaped, in that hazardous expedition.

Matur'd by sufferings in the day
 § Of Litchfield's memorable fray ;
 But, chief of all, thy skill refin'd
 To open and enlarge her mind ;
 Thy pious ardour to divest
 Of vulgar prejudice her breast,

P 5

Each

§ Litchfield's memorable fray.) His Grace had upon this occasion a glorious opportunity of signalizing his passive or suffering valour, and it is agreed on all hands, that he reaped the full advantage of it.—A little circumstance is said to have happened about that time, which is worth relating. The late gallant Sir Peter Warren, in the war before last, having, in a letter to the Secretary of State, informed him, “ that he had met the enemy in a “ certain latitude, and given them an hearty drubbing ;” the letter, as is customary, was shewn to his Majesty.—The old King, who did not value himself upon a critical knowledge of the English language, applied to some of the circle for an explanation of the word *drubbing* : the Earl of Chesterfield is said to have answered, “ that, “ though he was himself incapable of giving his Majesty “ the satisfaction he required in that point, he doubted “ not but his Grace of Bedford could sufficiently explain “ it, as he had undergone a discipline of the kind very “ lately at Litchfield races.”—It must not be forgotten here, that some essential personal services rendered to the Duke at those races, were the foundation of his attachment to Mr. Rigby ; an attachment, which (such is the persevering obstinacy that marked his Grace's character through life) seemed daily to increase in strength with the daily-increasing unworthiness of its object.—It is whispered indeed, beside, that his Grace, or some one of his family, lay under some obligations, of another kind, to this Right Honourable Gentleman ; and that Mr. Rigby, who *suffered* for him at Litchfield, has since, upon sundry delicate occasions, *acted* for him also..

Each narrow bias to remove
And plant the principles you love.

WARM with this elevated aim
To raise Ierne's future fame,
When, full of years and honour too,
To Heav'n her Baldwin's spirit flew,
To aid you in the vast design
(Fit only for an heart like thine)
You found, by happy instinct known,
A soul congenial with your own :
By the Court-creed's refinements sage
To form with care the rising age ;
To pluck each growing virtue forth,
And choak the seeds of future worth ;
To banish from the minds of youth
Each obsolete unfashion'd truth ;
To teach their views to soar above
The Quixote-dreams of publick love ;
To bow their spirit to the rule
Of every ministerial tool :
To make them crouch beneath the rod,
And tremble at a tyrant's nod,
You plac'd—nor fruitless was the care—
Your * Andrews in the vacant chair:

Of

* The Right Honourable Francis Andrews, L. L. D.
one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council,
(vide N. B. note p. 314.) and Provost of the University
of Dublin ; to which station he was advanced upon
the

Of talents for the purpose fit,
 A mongrel kind of bastard wit;
 A sly insinuating art
 To turn and wind th' unguarded heart;
 Skill to assume in open day
 The mask of candour, to betray;

A servile

the death of the Reverend Richard Baldwin, in the year 1758.—It would exceed the limits of a note, to enter into a minute detail of the various steps, by which he raised himself to that once respectable and important situation, or of his earnest, if not honest, endeavours to fulfil the expectations of his most noble patron. From the hour of his advancement he laboured with the most active and vigilant industry to acquire such an influence, as might enable him to nominate the two members of the University: his industry, save in the single instance of Doctor Clement, the Vice Provost, who was returned to the last Parliament solely against his will, has been crowned with success; and the consequence has been (as it was natural to have expected) that his members have to a man been such as were most fit for the purposes of our ministerial rulers.—His labours have in a recent melancholy instance produced an effect, which it is charity to hope he could not have intended or foreseen; Mr. James Johnston, a member of the University, a young gentleman of good character and promising abilities, having dared to give his vote, at the last general election, contrary to the dictatorial mandate, and having had beside the superlative insolence publicly to charge the Provost with attempting to intimidate and influence the electors, was for these reasons, and for these reasons only, expelled the University. From the severity of this sentence Mr. Johnston appealed to the justice of the visitors, (their Graces the Lord Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin) who were of opinion that he had a right to be restored:—It will not, however, be wondered

A servile pride, that creeps or climbs
 Just with the temper of the times ;
 And impudence, which, all allow,
 Would fix a blush on Norton's brow :
 Such, Ruffel, was thy minion's claim ;
 By steps like these he rose to fame ;
 These were the merits which prevail'd
 When virtue wept, and Lawson fail'd.

† O THOU, with whom at first began
 The poet's indigested plan,
 And, wide howe'er th' excursions tend,
 With whom the rhapsody shall end,
 Forgive the wand'rings of a muse,
 Who now her favourite task renews,
 Who, loving praise where praise is due,
 Of consequence is fond of you.

BLEST

dered at, that the sentence of expulsion was ultimately confirmed, when it is recollected, that the Duke of Bedford was at that time Chancellor of the University. The young gentleman, whose inclination led him to the clerical profession, and whose studies had been directed to that object, finding the avenue thus barred against him, and his fair prospects thus unexpectedly clouded (it being impossible for him to get himself ordained, without having first taken a degree, which could now be obtained only at some other University, at an expence which he could ill support) died about a year ago of a broken heart.

† O thou, &c.) Primâ dicte mihi, summâ dicende
 camoenâ. Horat.

BLEST with an undisputed claim
 To the fair wreath of private fame ;
 Blest, to a fulness of desire,
 In your own house, at your own fire ;
 * Sprung from a line to which she owes
 Less lustre far than she bestows,
 A partner of the social hour
 With every virtue for her dow'r ;
 And, next of fortune's gifts, a race
 To crown an Emperor's embrace ;
 What madness led thee to engage
 On publick life's tumultuous stage ?
 † To strut and fret in aukward pain,
 And marr the business of the scene ?
 Soldier at once and Statesman too,
 Our praise to challenge as your due,
 Yet want, to perfect either part,
 The statesman's head or soldier's heart ?

IF

* Sprung from, &c.) His greatness to himself he owes,
 Nor borrows lustre but bestows.
 Woffington's Pet. to the D. of Dorset.

This petition was at that time universally believed to be written by our present Provost, who, it was well known, then lived in the closest intimacy with Mrs. Woffington.

N. B. At this hour the chief ornaments in the Provost's house are portraits of that celebrated courtesan in various characters and attitudes.

† To strut, &c.) ————— A poor player,
 That struts and frets his hour upon
 the stage,
 And then is heard no more.
 Shakespeare.

IF, from the realms of faintest rest,
 Where calm he sleeps on Honour's breast,
 Wolfe's mighty spirit—at that name
 Thy cheek bears record of thy shame,
 Thy coward lips their colour fly,
 And guilt yet trembles in thine eye—
 If from that * undiscovered bourne
 Wolfe's mighty spirit should return,
 With honest freedom, bold and true,
 Unmask thee to the publick view,
 Disclose thy bearing on that day,
 (A day still mark'd by British sighs)
 When glory led her hero's way
 And seal'd his passport to the skies,
 A day, which through revolving years
 Shall claim the triumph of our tears :
 Tell how you strove, with heart malign,
 To counterwork the great design ;
 † And, with irreverent hand, when dead,
 To tear the laurel from his head ;

If

|| Thy coward, &c.) His coward lips did from their
 colour fly, Shakespeare.

* ————— That undiscover'd country, from
 whole bourne
 No traveller returns. Id.

† The name of Wolfe is but once (and then very
 slightly) mentioned in the celebrated letter of the 20th
 of September, 1759, on the reduction of Quebec ; and
 an event which called tears from a Monarch's eyes, which
 three

If yet thou feel'st like other men,
Say, what would be thy feelings then?
Would'st thou not curse the day, the hour,
When first you woo'd the phantom pow'r,
(That meteor-fire, "whose garish" ray
Too oft but glitters to betray)
And left, for fame's fantastic chace,
The bosom of domestick peace?
Would'st thou not curse the empty pride,
Since heaven the talents had denied?
Would'st thou not wish thy humbler lot
Had plac'd thee in the shelter'd cot,
There, from those squalls of passion free,
That vex the world's tempestuous sea,
To steal through life unmarked, unknown,
Sweet health and chearfulness thy own?
Or, rather, since supremely wise
Nature's fix'd law the wish denies,
And, down time's rapid current borne,
The hours once past no more return,
Would'st thou not then, in grief of heart,
Forgetting pride, disclaiming art,

Bid

three kingdoms lamented, and which might naturally be supposed to awaken in the breast of a brother-soldier some generous sensibility, and animate his narration, is passed over in this cold, phlegmatick, and unaffecting manner, "This, Sir, was the situation of things, when, I was told, in the action, that I commanded."

Brigadier General Townshend's letter to Mr. Pitt.

Bid mountains fall to hide thy shame,
And dark oblivion shroud thy name?

ILLUSIONS vain!—Tho' Townshend calls,
Nor darkness comes, nor mountain falls.
Still faithful to her task, the Muse
With watchful eye thy walk pursues;
Hangs thee aloft to publick scorn,
The curse of ages yet unborn;
With Strafford's rolls thy hated name,
And * damns thee to eternal fame.

HERE, with your favour, for this time
Close we the epistolary rhyme :——
Yet hold—at first, more kind than wise,
'Tis true I promis'd to advise;
Your soft, complying disposition
Perhaps would pardon the omission;
But, though a lie may grace a Lord,
A Poet's is a sacred word :——
Yet, on reflection, to what end
Advise, when no advice can mend?
Poor is the harvest of his toil
Who cultivates a barren soil,
And he, who works upon thy brains,
Shall reap his labour for his pains :——
All thankless though the office, yet
On me I hold it for a debt;

Let

* ——See Cromwel damn'd to everlasting fame.

Pope.

Let then the Muse, kind though severe,
Offer her counsel to your ear :
No longer anxious for your fame,
Your safety now is all her aim ;
That, friends and foes alike declare,
Is ever present to your care ;
Dead to each finer feeling grown,
There are you sensible alone,
And, “ † tremblingly alive all o’er,”
For that you feel “ at every pore.”

WHILE then, yet patient of her woe,
A nation’s wrath suspends the blow,
Ere bursts the thunder on thy head,
And the rous’d vengeance dooms thee dead,
O with the rapid speed of light
Far hence direct thy instant flight,
Where conscious guilt with Holland hides,
A people’s rage where Bute derides——
Fly from the storm you dare not face,
And quit a station you disgrace.

† ——— Tremblingly alive all o’er,
To smart and agonize at every pore. Pope.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

SIR,

Nov. 1, 1772.

AN elaborate treatise (a) has been lately published to prove that the Carthaginians spoke very good Irish. From the 10th Ode of the first book of Horace, it is I think *equally clear* that Hoey's Mercury was very well known at Rome, and that the great Lyrick Poet in the composition of the above-mentioned Ode had certainly Mr. Jeoffry Wagstaffe in his eye.—For the satisfaction of the curious I have thrown it into an English form.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

AN ANTIQUARIAN.

(a) An Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, by Major Vallancey.

HOR. LIB. I. ODE 10.

ADMERCURIUM.

MERCURI facunde, nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti catus, et decoræ
More palæstræ ;

Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum
Nuncium, curvæque lyræ parentem :
Callidum, quicquid placuit, jocosæ
Condere furto.

Te boves olim nifi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ
Risit Apollo.

Quin et Atridas, duce te, superbos
Ilio, dives Priamus, relicto,
Theſſalosque ignes et iniqua Trojæ
Castra fefellit.

Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus ; virgæque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
Gratus et imis.

HORACE. BOOK I. ODE 10.

IMITATED.

TO THE WRITERS FOR THE MERCURY. (b)

(c) WAGSTAFFE I fing, notorious name!
 Second to Tory MIST (d) in fame,
 Who deems all honest men fair game,
 (e) And *scalping*, lawful plunder;

Ready with quips and wanton wile
 Each new-fledg'd patriot to revile,
 At uncorrupted worth to smile,

Or thrice a week to thunder:

SANCHO'S

(b) A news-paper published three times a week by one Hoey, a popish printer, in which, during the administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland, an essay in defence of his measures was regularly inserted under the title of *The Bachelor, or Speculations of Jeoffry Wagstaffe*—for which his Excellency very generously paid him out of the publick money—by ordering all the State Proclamations to be inserted in his paper.

(c) This imitation is not given as it was originally published; but the alterations were communicated by the author.

(d) An anti-constitutional news-writer in the time of Sir Robert Walpole.

(e) *Wagstaffe*, it is imagined, learned this polished method of attacking the friends of the people, from Sancho, or his Canadian friend.

SANCHO's gazette, the Castle cryer,
 Parent of Slander's crooked lyre,
 The living and the dead conspire
 To grace thy pilfer'd essays;

Of inference false, and truisms clear,
 With stol'n conceits, and awkward leer,
 And still a *simile* in rear,
 The heterogeneous mefs is. (f)

You robb'd Sir Lucius of renown,
 (When ev'ry brewer in the town (g)
 His head with laurels wished to crown)
 Nor stopped there, flily cruel;
 But

(f) See the Bachelor passim.

(g) A regulation with respect to the excise-gallon was proposed about two years ago by Sir Lucius O'B——n, and adopted by the House of Commons.—It proved very beneficial to the Brewers—By an alteration made the last Session of Parliament in the duty on Rum, which was likewise proposed by the same gentleman, the Revenue, it is said, will this year rise 50,000*l.* Yet in the *Select Essays from the Bachelor*, p. 310, the merit of this act, of the tax on absentees, the Privilege Bill, and the Octennial Law, (measures in which Lord Townshend had just as much concern as Mr. Howard or Alderman Faulkner) is very gravely ascribed to his Excellency.—To establish the character of his patron, and to redeem the infamy of a five-year's-administration, his panegyrist is reduced to the miserable necessity of attributing to him institutions and laws, the greater part of which he knew nothing of till they had passed through the House of Commons, and the

But to your patron his Rum-Bill
 You gave ; he smiled, and swore your skill
 Was such, you could convert at will
 Strong beer to water-gruel.

While all the Combe and Poddle sleep, (h)
 Guarded by thee, see SANCHO creep,
 Preferring even the wintry deep
 To politicks and squabble ;

To Bullock (i) the mock-monarch flees,
 In ev'ry bush a dagger fees,
 But safe beneath thy auspices
 Escapes the indignant rabble.

'Tis

the most important of which he had always publicly disclaimed and ridiculed : and which all together, if they even had been suggested by him, or met with his co-operation, would have borne the same proportion to his *demerits* with respect to this country, that a drop of water does to the ocean.

(h) Two streets in Dublin inhabited entirely by manufacturers.

(i) An obscure place on the sea-coast (in the neighbourhood of Rockfield, a villa of Lord Townshend's) where, when these lines were first published, it was conjectured, from his love of *privacy*, and aversion to all kind, of *ostentations* he would have embarked for England——But the night before his departure, having employed the fidus Achates, his companion and panegyrist, to hire a mob in the city, he, the next day, *ventured* to proceed publicly through the streets ; and being accompanied by Lord Harcourt, escorted by the military, and protected by the ruffians whom he had paid to huzza him, he got to the water-side, without any *considerable* indignity being offered to him. For a more particular account of the circumstances attending his *retreat*, see Letter 41.

'Tis thine the obsequious drudge to grace,
And each implicit scoundrel place
In some contaminated space

Of blushing Honour's portal ;

To those who doubt quite plump to go
Preferment's golden hopes you shew,
And Devils of all sorts, high and low, (k)
Wish thee, dear Wag, immortal.

(k) His Majesty's Devil, and the Devils of the press.
—*Diabolus regis* was the antient title of the Attorney-
General—*Quantum mutatus !*

L E T T E R

L E T T E R XL.

Le bon temps viendra.

ENG. PEERAGE.

TO THE EARL OF HARCOURT.

MY LORD,

Nov. 14, 1772.

THE state of this country, and the ill advice, as representative of the King, you are sure to be exposed to, justify an early address on the part of the publick ; more sincere than the accents with which the parliament, the city, and the poet, receive you, it shall not be less decent, less full of ardent hopes, of favourable impressions. We salute you with that credulous cordiality, that open hospitality, and all those lively expectations, peculiar to a generous and a sanguine people. At the departure of the late viceroy we feel an alacrity, the effect of relief ; and inferring from the physical to the political climate, after such tempests we hope that better days will succeed.

WE know you bring with you a decorum and splendour long forgotten in this country ; and we believe you add qualities which are substantial.

No people are more addicted to their Chief Governor, until, by his conduct, he corrects every tendency

tendency in his favour, and destroys the faintest supposition of his virtue.

You come among us in times that are critical, but not difficult; you ascend the Irish throne in the day of its unpopularity and degradation, with powers, and, we presume, with wishes, to raise it above its present condition; fraud, perfidy, and profusion. There is no royal disease, we conceive, in that seat which once was honourable, communicated from viceroy to viceroy, in a course of infected succession.

You must have been already informed that the power of this country was formerly in a few natives. Government disliked this system, because these men sometimes opposed; and the nation disliked it, because they generally complied with the minister: we thought it dangerous to collect the being of the people to the point of a life-blood, not always protected by virtue. The scheme of Government should have been rather to weaken than destroy a natural influence; and on that principle, Government would have found support. The Viceroy should have enlarged the basis of administration, and, in opposition to an oligarchy, should have stood on popular affection. Time, the friend of power, a resident influence, whose operation is constant, and the leaning of this country to Administration, would have safely established the desired revolution: *revolution*, which should steal upon a nation, never alarm it.

Q

A DIFFERENT

A DIFFERENT system was pursued. The Chief Governour began his attack upon the power of the Oligarchy by an insult on their persons, not considering that, although their power ought to have been impaired, their persons were to be respected. Instead of resting administration on the nation in general, he detached the nation from his ministry by an idle contest, almost in the commencement of his authority ; and placed the Oligarchy on the very ground on which he should have placed himself : making them, not the heads of a faction, but the leaders of the people.

THERE was no idea of securing, or softening, or detaching, by address, by moderation, or a faint example of better government. To discredit the established influence of others, was the object of the Viceroy ; for this, the power of the Crown was ineffectually and dishonourably abused : difficulties, which arose from indiscretion, were encountered by profusion ; profusion created new difficulties, to be withstood by new extravagance.

A WANTON increase of nominal employments, and real sinecures—engagements dishonourable if they are kept, and dishonourable if they are violated—a swarm of dependants unfit for any station, introduced into the high station of parliament—were the unhappy resources of a Government, that was to reconcile to innovation, and purposed to *repose* in this country.

THUS

THUS the new system, which was to fall upon this country like manna from above, shook the realm. The question was no more whether an English Administration, or an Irish Oligarchy, should prevail; the question was now, whether Ireland, in days of peace and poverty, should pay for the continuance of a fatal government, and for the support of every project of corruption, by the imposition of a land-tax.

THUS, my Lord, were we taught to look back with affection at our old Oligarchy. The scheme of politicks, however narrowed, was not *then* a Job with every person who wore the livery of the court; the wealth of the nation was not *then* devoted to every purpose, except the exigencies of the kingdom and the splendour of the Crown; the country was not *then* laid under contribution to support the idle and griping train of the revenue; the nation was not *then* a wasted field of battle, where the Viceroy consulted victory, and not government.

IT was unfortunate for this country that the man appointed to unite to Administration all the branches of power, was the most distinguished for his aversion to business. The sceptre fell among his domestics, who became ministers to him, and incumbrances to us: thus the indolence of the executive power became a rent-charge upon the nation.

I HAVE described the event of this system in general terms ; I will not tire your patience by entering into the detail of measures, about which there is little doubt, either as to their existence, or impropriety ; but this, my Lord, I will say, that when you come among us, you will see the foulest policy that ever took the name of government. Viceroy, who have hitherto presided in this country, submitted upon every occasion to every minister, because their natural situation was below their elevation, and they stood upon a fearful precipice, from whence they trembled to fall ; but the terms on which you will receive and preserve the favours of your Sovereign will not be unworthy : for you, my Lord, can command favours.

AN accomplished Peer of England, full of age and honours, will not forfeit the maturity of his good name for an office, little to his fortune, nothing to his glory, and by no means flattering to the tranquillity of his disposition. Speaking from the throne, he will observe *truth* ; and contributing to any popular measure, consistency ; his *douceurs* will be without treachery, his engagements without falsehood. He will not bring along with him to a plundered country, an hungry *following*, but rather Amalthea's horn ; and scatter the novelty of prosperity among us. In the distribution of bounty he will remember, that the money he gives is not his own, and he will shew that vice is, at least, not his object ; his pensions and places will not scandalize

lize his royal master, nor put a publick mark on the worthlessness of the receiver. My Lord, you are to reside among us ; and if you are not to share our prosperity or distresses, you will however enjoy, by publick observations on your conduct, the full fame of your administration. An evanescent harpy of the Crown will have no scruples ; but the gentleman who means to live in the midst of his tenantry, no doubt, will be a gracious landlord. A resident Chief Governour labours under a difficulty unknown to some Viceroys, and little considered by the last. He is apt to become too jocular a fellow, and to forget the dignity of his office in the levity of his person ; the delegated crown is too great a weight to be long sustained by every subject. We have seen the paltry actor sink into himself, before the royal mantle was laid aside, and the tragedy of his government concluded.

As to Lord Townshend I shall say little of him. His spirit, his decorum, his ministry, his manners, all have been discussed, not much to his honour, still less to his reformation. Fortune raised this man to a ridiculous visibility, where the extravagant genius of his character fatally displayed itself. At one time he would elope from his office, and no man could say where the *delegated crown* had hid itself ; at another time business must follow him from haunt to haunt, and detect him with the most disgraceful company, in the most disgraceful intimacy. The old servants of the court, accus-

Q 3

tomed.

tomed to the regularity of former times, looked up with astonishment to a comet that seemed to have broken from one sphere, to introduce confusion into another.—With respect to his friendships, it was impossible to say how he loved, and not easy to determine whether he loved any one; as to bounty, the favour was cancelled before it was conferred, and the object of it hated for ever. It is not strange that such a character should exist; but it is very strange, that in such a character there should be parts and genius: a momentary ray, which, like a faint, wintry beam, shot and vanished. He had even starts of good feeling also, absorbed in a moment in the hurricane of his bosom, as his parts were lost in the clouds of his understanding. I speak of his foibles; as to his vices I shall not dwell upon them.—We saw this man arrayed like Majesty, and felt indignation; we see him now descend from the throne, and are ashamed that he was ever an object of serious resentment. We leave him to the vacancy of a mind ill-suited to retreat, and now accustomed to the farce of state, and the blunder of business. We leave him to a country that his talents will never injure—to an office which we wish he may discharge better—and to a large patronage, from which we hope he may not derive a multitude of enemies.

PERICLES.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLI.

Jacet ille nunc, prostratusque est, Quirites, et se percussum, atque abjectum esse sentit ; et retorquet oculos profecto sæpe ad hanc urbem, quam ex suis faucibus ereptam esse luget : quæ quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit, forasque projecerit.

Cic.

TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

MY LORD,

Dec. 8, 1772.

AFTER all the chances and changes of your political life, you have at length *escaped* to Holyhead. That theatre of modern chivalry, opened its arms, no doubt, to the successor of Wolfe. Alexander visited the tomb of Achilles, and an old field of battle has always arrested the notice of a military genius. In the same spirit, I suppose your Lordship will reconnoitre all the stations of combat in that celebrated spot, and examine every rock at which that gun-powder Galwayman, Mr. Blake, discharged a pistol, in his morning exercise, upon a late excursion. Like Scipio too, you may occupy yourself a while in the innocent recreation of collecting pebbles on the shore ; not forgetting that the meanest and basest of the Roman governours did the same ; that he brought back some cockle-shells to the Capitol, as trophies of his success ; and claimed, and obtained

Q 4.

a tri-

a triumph, for having extended the empire of Rome. The ceremony of a triumph indeed is out of date, my Lord : the Ordnance and a Marquisate must suffice you.

By command of your Sovereign you remained in Ireland, till you were publicly stripped of your temporary distinction, and ordered *to return to the place from whence you came*: but you could scarce bring yourself to comply with the sentence: you lingered, like a discontented spirit, and hovered over the grave of your former dignity. Your friends boasted, that if you could not, like Fabius, retrieve the state, you would give a specimen of your valour by *delay*. How did the experiment answer? It is true, that now and then, with nerves unstrung, and with a countenance that more than insinuated embarrassment, you sallied into the streets; but your flights were short, and your season, *twilight*.—An opportunity which a brave, but *blemished*, soldier would have solicited, offered itself to you. Instead of seizing the armour of valour, you forgot, in your disturbance, the *refuge* of station. Day after day, your door was *dunned* by Mr. Lowther, on behalf of his friend*; like an importunate creditor, he grew clamorous at length: by accident you became visible to him; but, a bankrupt

* The Honourable Robert Rochfort, from whom Mr. Lowther carried a challenge to Lord Townshend, about a fortnight before his departure from Ireland.

rupt in honour, instead of *discharging*, you *compounded the debt*.

THE new Viceroy declared, that whilst you continued in Ireland you were to be his guest : he, therefore stopped the circulation of publick dinners, which are a matter of *precedent*, on the arrival of a Lord Lieutenant. To pay a greater compliment, by a further accommodation to your Lordship's genius, he proclaimed an *armistice* of business. There could not be a more decent exhortation to you to depart. But Candy's chop-house, and the gratuitous hotel of Mr. Montgomery, stood in your way. From the intenseness of your dissipation, a stranger might have thought, that you were indemnifying yourself in some sort, for a former contrast of toil and industry ; but the people of Ireland were not to be so deceived ; they did not wonder that you should continue to *impede* the national business, which you had so long *disgraced* and *founded*. The charms of the Miss M—ntg—ys might have attracted the honourable attention of the most elegant nature ; but yours, my lord, was out of their reach. An eleemosynary bottle with their chearful father, a little time to negotiate away an altercation or two, together with the dear delight of playing at *hide and seek* with the expectations of the publick, and of doing every thing but what you ought to do, were the principle of your stay. The army was ordered out every day to escort you, and sometimes more than once.

All was uncertainty, and the citizens were at a loss when your Lordship would require their attendance. You never appeared a greater general, my Lord, than in this instance ; you effectually harassed your enemy,——*the people.*

IN the prime and strength of your government, you affected to despise the most respectable popularity ; but when the period of its expiration drew near, you grew solicitous for the *hired* huzza of the lowest of the rabble ; a sort of death-bed repentance, my lord, which can operate little to your political salvation : the sickly suffrage of a mercenary mob is not the voice of heaven. But by a fatality peculiar to the contrivances of your Lordship, even their miserable cry, for once, became the vehicle of truth : for after all the farcical preparation of the matter, by your city agitators, the salutation, which you purchased, proved but a *shout for your departure.*

BUT if the presence of the new Chief Governour, who accompanied you to your ship, and of whom the publick have favourable hopes—if the threats of intimated vengeance—if the terror of a military power—if the vileness of bribes operating upon the hunger of necessitous miscreants—if any, or all of these, had stifled publick imprecation for a moment, or procured for your Lordship the echo of a counterfeited applause, you must confess it would be no proof of your merit, however it might be an aggravation

vation of your guilt. Verres, the persecutor of Sicily, had publick thanks decreed, and publick statues erected to his honour, by the cities which he had plundered, and which afterwards impeached him. Thanks to the dignity of my countrymen, in their collective capacity, you have no such scandalous compliances to boast. They have no inconsistency, no ingratitude to you, in their way. Their justice may properly overtake your crimes, for their wants rejected your charity *. But though they should abandon your person *to your own care*, your name at least they will brand, and your image they have already brought to a publick and ignominious execution. Æneas sighed when, turning towards Carthage, he saw from shipboard the flames of the funeral pile of Dido. His heart gave intimation of the disaster which had befallen. Did any similar misgiving vibrate at your Lordship's breast, or did a sympathetic presage melt you into tears, when, looking to the shore, you beheld from deck, the conflagration of your Effigy ? The whole town, with countenances expressive of peculiar gratification, beheld the spectacle of your Lordship in procession. Even in your *natural* person you never thridded so many passages, and alleys, nor explored so many nooks and recesses of the metropolis, as you did *in that your counterfeit presentment*, during this solemnity. Had your friend, the late Lord Mayor, presided over the pomp, you could not have perambulated the city more completely.

AT

* See the Appendix, No. 5.

At length, however, you have made your ever memorable retreat, not indeed like Xenophon with the ten thousand Greeks, but—like yourself, with Courtney, and with Frazer. Is it not strange that wheresoever we survey you, whether in your stay or your departure, in the camp or cabinet, in your own character, or in any which you assume, you should still present us with some perverse incongruity, some contemptible caprice, or some indignity not to be paralleled. Go then, thou wretched commander, and thou still more miserable viceroy, go then, thou unworthy man, bury thyself, if thou can'st, in oblivion. If thou can'st be consistent in any thing, be so in that despicable buffoonery, in which alone thou can'st be eminent. Be uniform in that, for it may shut out reflection, which, if it comes, must come with scorpions to thee. Thou hast the violation of the entrusted rights of a nation to answer for.—Heaven and earth condemn thee.—What must be thy portion?

F A B R I C I U S.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R XLII.

*Sic qui promittit, ciues, urbem sibi curæ,
Imperium fore, et Italiam, et delubra Deorum,
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
Omnes mortales curare, et quærere cogit.* HOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF BARATARIANA.

S I R,

Dec. 31, 1772.

AMONG the manuscripts in St. Patrick's library, in which there are many curious pieces of antiquity, I happened, a few days ago, to find a character of Sancho II. Governour of Barataria, drawn by the pen of a contemporary historian, which I communicate to you for the instruction of his successors.

PLUTARCHUS BARATARIANUS.

SANCHO, the Governour of Barataria, was descended from a noble house in Spain. But even the omnipotence of Majesty can transmit to posterity no more of *honour*, than that which is merely *titular*. *Sancho* was not the name which he derived from his *family*; neither was it that which was conferred on him at his *baptism*; but it was a title of extravagant and unsuitable elevation, furnished by a romance, and stamped upon him by the unanimous voice of the Baratarians, from the preposterous incongruity which they observed between

tween his station and character—his person and profession—his duty and demeanour—when they saw the gravity of government guided by the levity of a ridiculous buffoon, and the *sóber* concerns of a great nation resigned to the guardianship of an half-witted Bacchanalian.—The aptness of the title was the cause of it's universality ; and as by the exploits of his folly he departed from the name, so by the degeneracy of his nature did he extinguish the lustre, of his family. His father indeed was a person of figure and high reputation in Spain ; but he had another parental example before him—that of his mother ; which the natural impulse of his mind led him to emulate. The whimsical licentiousness of the one was preferred to the regular dignity, and honourable deportment of the other.—And, indeed, from the first moment in which the mind of Sancho assumed the powers of selection, it was employed in chusing that which was most unfitting for him—Thus he became a soldier without fortitude, or generosity ; a statesman without wisdom, or sobriety—Thus he was amorous without tenderness, and affected sociability without temper, or good manners.—Into high life did he carry all the degradations of a degenerate mind, and mixed in humble condition the arrogance of exalted station. His arrogance, however, was not above *familiarity*. It accompanied him through the streets of the city, with the vilest associates ; and he affected a freedom of carriage

riage with the lowest of the Community, who would accept it, under the title of grace and condescension—And yet, though he was too mean for dignity, he was too insolent for equal society. Of that insolence, indeed, he had frequent occasion to repent; for it led him into many embarrassing situations, from which he seldom extricated himself, without some mortification, or disgrace.

For some years he passed through life under the protection of contemptible talents;—and was thought to be *inoffensive*, because he wanted *wisdom*.—But he was a singular instance of a man's mixing malevolence with levity, and dedicating even his *smiles* to the injury of his companions. His friends, (or those whom service had retained as his panegyrists, and who praised for subsistence) affirm, "*that taken unawares, in the sudden moment of surprise, he has been hurried into acts of kindness, and beneficence.*"—But it is as certain, that he has repented him of them speedily, and disclaimed them. And it was the universal opinion, that so soon as the fury of passion, or the surprise of commiseration, had passed away,—when cool reflection, and native sentiment, reassumed the empire of his mind, the result was injury, injustice, and oppression.—And indeed to the honour of human kind, we must admit, that Sancho was the only person who had fallen within our experience,
whose

whose *sudden extravagance of passion* was the peculiar article, with which the partiality of friends would clothe him, when they wished to exhibit him to publick view. The crimes of most men are excused, or palliated, by thoughtlessness, surprise, temptation, or intemperance.——Sancho's alone were enormous in proportion as time, and deliberation, had leisure to digest them.

WHENEVER the wantonness of that Fortune, which placed power in his hands, furnished him with the means of injury, he did not rashly discharge the raptures of malevolence, but held them long before his eyes, as a reversionary felicity, which he rather wished to hoard than to dissipate.——He *dallied*, and *played* with vengeance.——He thought it a morsel too delicious for immediate consumption, and reserved it to crown, and conclude, the luxury of the banquet.

FORTUNE, however, with all her favours, was not his *real* friend.——If she raised him to *high station*, she raised him to publick observation.——Had she not made him a *General*, the *whole* world had not known, that he wanted every qualification of a soldier; that he was only capable of warring with the *dead*, and plundering deceased heroism of those laurels which himself could not wear.——Had she not made him the Representative of Majesty,

jeſty, a *few* only would have known, that he wanted wiſdom, moderation, ſobriety, and decorum; —that his principles were not founded in juſtice, and that they were ſubverſive of freedom; —that the only things he had ever learned in camps, he brought with him into the cabinet, —*arbitrary law*, and *military government*.

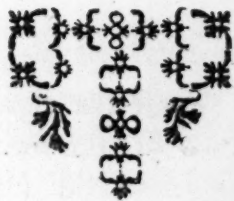
HIS politicks, as Governour, were perpetually the reſult of his own humour, and his humour was raſhneſs, reſentment, and caprice. — In the wide rotation of his inſtancy, he has placed his confidence, *by turns*, on every branch of his houſhold. He has counſelled upon the myſteries of ſtate with every *life-guard man* in his train, and made his ſtables his Council-chamber, as he once made his Council-chamber, his kennel *. — If he ever aſſumed gravity of diſcourſe, it was applied to playfulness, or childhood; and his jokes and good humour were the wages of his lackeys.

HERE we ſhall reſoſe the character of this extraordinary perſon. — If the ferment of the times ever tended to exaggerate the features — let it be remembered

* Alluding to the remarkable ſtory of his introducing his fox-hounds into the Council-Chamber, whiſt the Council were in debate. — See page 203.

remembered, that *he* was the author of those ferments ; that national calamities, it is true, are severe commentators on the conduct of *him*, who has produced them ; and that he, who has stimulated a brave people by his oppressions, deserves to feel the lash of their sensibility.

F I N I S.



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

Dies Veneris, Dec. 22, 1769.

A MOTION being made, that the Speaker of this House be desired to direct, that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a Lord of parliament, and a member of this house, and which doth not respect a matter which hath been previously in question before this house, and wherein the Lord protesting had taken part with the minority either in person or by proxy, be entered on the journals of this house.

And a debate arising thereupon, the question was put, and the house divided.

It passed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because, we conceive that it is the sole and exclusive right and privilege of a Lord of parliament, and member of this house, to have his protest entered on the journals of this house; and

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that

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that even a Lord of parliament and member of this house cannot have his protest so entered except upon a matter previously in question before this house, wherein the Lord protesting took part with the minority, either in person or by proxy.

2dly, Because we conceive that this regulation of the privilege of protesting, stands upon the same principle, in consequence of which, this privilege hath obtained among the Lords, and not among the representatives of the people. The latter we apprehend, are considered by the constitution as actuated and justified by the sentiments of those whom they represent. Whereas the Lords who act not as deputies, but in their own right, are personally responsible for their conduct to posterity. The practice of a permanent justification, also, seems to have been deemed a more necessary guard upon a body whose power was permanent. Hence we conceive the privilege of protesting arose, that the Lord, against whom the majority had declared, might have an opportunity of vindicating himself to future times; which the original custom of inserting the names of each Lord on the journals, with the part he had taken in the question, rendered more necessary. And we therefore apprehend, as it would be absurd for a Lord to justify his conduct, where he had not acted, that the privilege of protesting hath been, by reason, as well as practice, confined to cases, in which the Lord protesting had taken a part, and in which, upon question, the majority had been of a different opinion.

3dly,

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3dly, Because we conceive that the Earl of Strafford, who first attempted, and that but in a single instance, to enter his protest, as chief governor, upon the journals of this house, was a person of such an arbitrary spirit, and the times in which he lived, of so bad example, and his said protest so informal, and faulty in itself, that such his proceeding ought not to be considered as a precedent.

4thly, Because, we apprehend that the only subsequent instance, * to wit, the protest of Lord Sydney,—which was made in heat, by that governor, whose conduct was disapproved, on his recall to England, which soon followed, and founded upon the same example, which ought not to have been imitated—was still more irregular and improper; inasmuch, as it related to a matter which had never been before this house, and respected the privileges and proceedings of the other house of parliament.

5thly, Because we conceive it to be peculiarly necessary at this time, to express our sentiments upon this subject, when we have reason to apprehend,

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that

* N. B. The prorogation of Lord Sydney was not in consequence of orders received from England, as there was not time between the rejection of the Privy-Council Money-bill, and the prorogation, for any such orders to have been had; the true reason was, that his Lordship expected to have been called to account, by the then house of Commons, for the having fraudulently taken possession of the estate of Lord Tyrconnel.

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that it is intended, that a protest shall be entered upon the journals of this house, relative to the proceedings and privileges of the other house of parliament, in imitation of the last mentioned protest.

6thly, Because we apprehend that we ought not to suffer this distinguished privilege of the Lords to be invaded or assumed by any person, in whatever station, and that we ought particularly to resist any such attempt, when it may be thought to involve a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament also, and may therefore be productive of dissension between the two houses.

LOWTH,
CHARLEMONT,
POWERSCOURT,
MOUNTMORRES,
LONGFORD.

On Friday the 22d of December, the above protest was entered;—notwithstanding which, on the Tuesday following, the Lord Lieutenant went down to the house of Lords, and entered a protest upon the Lords journals, against the proceeding of the Commons, in rejecting the Privy-Council Money-bill, and alledging their reason for so doing. The house of Commons gave orders to their clerk, that the Lord Lieutenant's speech or protest should not be entered upon their journals.

N U M-

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R. II.

Dies Lunæ, 4 Martis, 1771.

A motion being made that the paragraph in the Address of the King, returning thanks to his Majesty for continuing Lord Townshend in the government of Ireland, be omitted—it passed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE the repeated proofs we have had of his Majesty's paternal tenderness towards his people convince us, that a misrepresentation of his faithful commons could alone have determined his royal breast to exert his undoubted prerogative of proroguing his parliament, at a crisis, when the expiration of laws, essential to the well being of this kingdom, peculiarly seemed to point out the most urgent demand for the assistance of the legislature; at a time, when the commons had given a recent, efficacious, testimony of their unremitted zeal for his Majesty's service, by voting an augmentation of his Majesty's forces;—a measure which had been presented to parliament as highly acceptable to the King; at a season too when the suddenness of this unexpected mark of his

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royal displeasure rendered its consequences almost irretrievably fatal to the nation, insomuch that we see with the deepest concern an extraordinary deficiency in his Majesty's revenue, proceeding from the declining state of our credit, trade, and manufactures, thereby occasioned.

2dly, Because the undoubted confidence we repose in his Majesty's inviolate regard to the fundamental principles of the constitution, assures us, that the attempt which has been lately made to infringe that balance indefeasibly inseparable from its very formation, by entering upon the journals of this house a protest animadverting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, was the result of pernicious counsels, insidiously calculated to alienate the affections of the most loyal subjects from the most amiable of Princes; an opinion in which we conceive ourselves by so much the better founded, as this unconstitutional extension is unprecedented save only in one instance, which was followed by the just disapprobation of the sovereign, testified by the immediate removal of the chief governor. We further conceive, that as the constitution of this kingdom is, in respect to the distinct departments of the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, one and the same with that of *Great-Britain*, we should depart not only from our duty to our King, and to this our country, but likewise from that regard which we owe to *Great-Britain*, if in our high capacity of hereditary great council

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council of Ireland to the Crown, we should acquiesce under an attempt which manifestly tends to subvert that reciprocal independence of the three estates, which is the basis of its security.

3dly, Because the justice and piety which shine conspicuous in our sovereign, as well in his domestick life, as on the throne, do not suffer us to suppose, that the dismissal of trusty nobles and commoners from his Majesty's privy-council,—the former only because they made a just exercise of their hereditary birth right, as Peers of the realm, the latter on account of their parliamentary conduct,—can have proceeded from the truly inform'd intention of so great and good a prince.

4thly, Because moderation, firmness, consistency, a due distinctive regard to all ranks of persons, a regular system of administration, being as we perceive indispensably requisite to the support and dignity of government, and to the conduct of his Majesty's affairs; we cannot, without violation of truth and justice, return thanks to the King for continuing a chief governor, who in contempt of all forms of business, and rules of decency, heretofore respected by his predecessors, is actuated only by the most arbitrary caprice, to the detriment of his Majesty's interests, to the injury of this op-

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pressed country, and to the unspeakable vexation of persons of every condition.

LOWTH,	MOIRA,
LEINSTER,	MOLESWORTH,
WESTMEATH,	SHANNON,
LANESBOROUGH,	MORNINGTON,
POWERSCOURT,	BELLAMONT,
BECTIVE,	LONGFORD,
MOUNTCASHELL,	BALTINGLASS,
CHARLEMONT,	LISLE.

N U M B E R III.

Dies Jovis, 7 Martis, 1771.

A motion being made that the Protest of Lord Townshend entered upon the Journals of this House on the 26th of December, 1769, be now expunged; it passed in the negative.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE we conceive that by the entering of the Lord Lieutenant's protest upon the Journals of this house, at the close of the last session, the privileges of this house, and the constitutional rights of the peerage, have been most

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most flagrantly infringed and violated, and that therefore the earliest opportunity should be seized of vindicating the rights and privileges of the peerage, and of wiping away the affront which this house has received therein, by expunging from its Journals this matter of offence, which has been unwarrantably and illegally obtruded upon them.

2dly. Because we conceive that the above-mentioned protest contains in it matter in the highest degree illegal and unconstitutional, inasmuch as it claims a right, and presumes, to animadvert upon some proceedings of the lower house of parliament; now we are bold to assert, that whenever any one branch of the legislature shall arrogate a right to animadvert upon either of the other two branches, the branch of the legislature, so subject to animadversion, would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power, the ballance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch, in which this jurisdiction resided would be compleatly sovereign; a supposition which is equally abhorrent to the spirit, and to the letter, of the constitution.

3dly. Because we conceive that this house hath, and ought to have, the sole and exclusive dominion over its Journals, in like manner as the Commons have over theirs; and that the Lord Lieutenant hath no more right to order an entry to be made upon our Journals, than he hath to order an entry to be made in the Journals of the Commons; and we
conceive;

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conceive, that as the Crown, though a branch of the legislature, is no *estate* of parliament, therefore the Crown or its representatives can have no jurisdiction over the Journals of the estates of parliament ; which are the records of the proceedings of the *deliberative* branches of the legislature, whereof the Crown is not one. And we are the more confirmed in this opinion, by reflecting, that there is not a single instance, even in the most arbitrary times, of such a power being claimed; or exercised, by the Crown of Great-Britain over the Journals of the British Peers. We apprehend also, that no matter can with propriety be entered upon the Journals of this house, without the leave of this house previously had or implied, as is clearly evinced by the constant practice of reading the minutes by the Clerk before the house is adjourned, in order that every peer may have an opportunity of preventing any thing improper from being entered upon the Journals. Now, on the last day of the last session, no such opportunity was given, the reading of the minutes having been prevented by the prorogation.

4thly. Because, though it hath been asserted that the Journals of this house being publick records, it is improper that any alteration should be made therein, we are of opinion that this maxim extends only to the judicial proceedings of this house ; not seeing, that in other instances there is any reason to distinguish between the Journals of
this

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this house and those of the other house of parliament, from which matters have frequently been expunged; as it is also notorious that matters, *not of a judicial nature*, have frequently been expunged from the Journals of the house of Lords of Great-Britain.

Indeed, were it otherwise, the Speaker, or even the Clerk of this house, or any indifferent person, who might, however irregularly, get access to the Journal Book, might insert therein matter of the most criminal import, amounting even to the crime of treason; and it would be a strange solecism to say, that such insertion must for ever remain to the disgrace of this house, without any power in us to expunge and purge away such obnoxious matter.

5thly. Because it hath been declared to be a high breach of the privileges of parliament, that the Crown should take notice of the proceedings of either house of parliament, unless the same shall be regularly laid before it; a circumstance in which we conceive, that the protest of Lord *Straford*, however in all other respects irregular and unconstitutional, hath the advantage of those of Lord *Sidney*, and our present Chief Governor.

6thly. Because we think this entry peculiarly improper, inasmuch as the Viceroy hath therein by a breach of the privileges of this house, made
our

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our Journals the instrument of a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament; a practice which, if not discountenanced by us, might probably end in a rupture between the two houses.

LOWTH,	MOLESWORTH,
LEINSTER,	SHANNON,
WESTMEATH,	MORNINGTON,
LANESBOROUGH,	BELLAMONT,
POWERSCOURT,	KNAPTON,
BECTIVE,	LONGFORD,
MOUNTCASHELL,	BALTINGLASS,
CHARLEMONT,	LISLE.
MOIRA,	

N U M B E R I V.

Dies Mercurii, 18 Decembris, 1771.

A MOTION was made that an humble Address he presented to his Majesty, representing that it is the opinion of this house, that the appointment which his Majesty hath been advised to make of *five Members of Parliament*, to examine and pass *certain* of the accounts of this kingdom, with the *Powers* specified in his Majesty's Letters, dated the thirty-first of October, 1771, (the present *circumstances* of this country being considered

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sidered) is *unnecessary* and *inexpedient*, and praying that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct his *Attorney-General* to cause the *Legality* of the said appointment to be *tried* according to *due course of law*.

It passed in the *negative*.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE we conceive that the appointment of five *new Commissioners* for examining and perfecting the *imprest* or *extraordinary accounts* of this kingdom, is *unnecessary*—inasmuch, as, the *antient* commissioners appear to have been deemed *sufficient* for some *centuries past*; and to have been *so held* by his Majesty's *ministers* in *both* kingdoms at his *accession*; and even at a *later period*, viz. in 1766, when his Majesty's *last* appointment of the *said* commissioners was made, requiring them to state and examine *all* the public accounts, *four* times, instead of *once*, in the *year*; *since* which time, it *cannot* be *pretended*, that *any* *encrease* in *that* department, or in the *other* publick occupations of the *said* commissioners, *bath arisen* to *require* such a *new* establishment, as that in question. And we think it might imply an *unmerited censure* on the eminent persons who at present constitute the *antient* commission, if the *necessity* of such a *new* arrangement, were, *now*, for the *first* time, to be discovered and *admitted*.

2^{dly},

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2dly. Because it is to be presumed, if the *old* board had not been deemed by his Majesty's ministers to be *fully sufficient*, that they would not have rendered it *less so*, by suffering it to be *deprived* of one of its members, viz. the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; who doth *not reside* in this kingdom, *not execute any part of the duty* of that office— And we conceive, if *any* insufficiency in the old board could *reasonably* be alledged; in consequence of the avocations of the other great officers of the law, who compose it; that, it *might and ought* to be *remedied* by ordering the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *attend*; whereby *instead* of loading this country with a *new* expence, the *salary* of that great office would circulate *within* this kingdom; whereas now it is expended *abroad*.

3dly. Because the *necessity* of this appointment, if *any*, must arise either from the *arrear* of unpassed accounts, *heretofore* incurred, and which is the only argument we have heard in support of this new establishment; or it must arise from the nature and extent of our accounts respecting the *future*. Now, first, we conceive, that the new commissioners are directed to call before them, *not* such persons as *have*, but such as *shall* receive any sum or sums by way of *imprest*: that is, to act for the *future* and *not* for the *past*; and that therefore the *necessity* of these new commissioners *cannot* be maintained on the ground of an *arrear*, which they are *not* directed to examine and *settle*. More-
over:

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over we think that even if they were to have a retrospect, it is utterly absurd to establish a *permanent* board for all time *future*, for the *occasional* purpose of settling an arrear in time *past*; a temporary appointment being sufficient for such a temporary office, whereby the expence of the publick would cease with the occasion which produced it. Again, as to our *account in future*, we think it cannot be denied, that *one* board of commissioners of accounts would be *sufficient* to discharge the *whole* business, if *properly constituted*—Now, either the *old* board is *so* constituted, or it is *not*. If it is *so* constituted, it is *sufficient*, and *another* is *unnecessary*. If it is *not* *so* constituted, either it ought to be *corrected*, if *capable* of being rendered sufficient, or, if *incapable* thereof, it ought to be *abolished* by *due authority*; and *one* board, *properly* regulated and sufficient, *substituted* in its room. Whereas the *present* measure of government is to do *neither*; for, it is to *continue* the *old* board, in its *antient* form, which, if it is *insufficient*, is *absurd*; and to add *another* to do *part* of its duty, which is *absurd*, if it be *not insufficient*. It proposes, in a word, *not* that we should have *one* board properly regulated and *sufficient*, but that we should have *two*, *each* of which should be *so contrived* as to be, at least *seperately inadequate*; and that, *not* for the purpose of the one, being a *check* and controul on the other; but wholly *independent* and *distinct*: which can be productive of
evil.

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evil consequences only, as we apprehend, without one benefit.

4thly. Because we think it to be *inexpedient*, inasmuch, as *no new expence*, that can be avoided, ought to be incurred, at a period, when, from the *growing* difficulties of the public, the wisdom of parliament hath found it necessary, both in the session of 1769, and in the present session, to *reduce*, very considerably, the sum, *usually* expended on the *internal improvement* of the kingdom, and towards the support of its great *charitable foundations*: when, *notwithstanding* such *retrenchments*, government was obliged to *borrow* in the two last years 130,000*l.* in aid of the general revenue—when, the *next* two years seemed to threaten a still *greater* encrease of national debt, the Commons having deemed it necessary to vote, in *this* session, a *loan* of 200000*l.* in *aid* of the *general* revenue, for the *ordinary* service of the two years ensuing: when his Majesty's revenue, by decay of trade and credit, is declining:—when, notwithstanding *this* country is *more* heavily *burthened* in proportion to her *ability* than *Great-Britain*; and notwithstanding that the *taxes* of this kingdom *exceed* in their *annual* amount, the *whole circulating specie* of the nation: yet the *expence* of the publick is *greatly superior* to the *revenue* thereof; even though the *latter* should *rise again* to *as high* an amount, as it *hath* reached at *any* period heretofore; which, we *cannot promise* to ourselves, at *present*, that it will—

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will—when, *unless, instead of encreasing*, we shall *diminish* the publick charges, this kingdom will incur a larger debt, in a few years of *profound tranquillity*, than it contracted during the *whole* of the *late war*; in which, this country undertook a larger share of expence, than *ever* it had done in *any war before*—and, when the *speech* from the throne *this session* of parliament, hath stated, so *emphatically*, the *necessitous* condition of this kingdom, and hath *dictated oeconomy*, in such *alarming* terms.

5thly. Because, it appears that, at so *late* a period—as in the year 1757, the *whole expence* of the publick, in the article of *Commissioners of account* amounted only to 360*l.* which expence, since that time, principally by the innovation of quarterly, instead of annual, accounts, hath *encreased* to *seven* times that sum, *without any* advantage to the publick therefrom, as we apprehend—and which in consequence of this *new* establishment, will at the *lowest* estimate, be *augmented*, upon the whole, in more than a *twenty-fold* proportion:—and that, in a season of *publick distress* and and of *accumulating debt*: Whereas, in the *first* mentioned period, this nation, having *recently discharged* the whole capital of its antecedent debt, was *free* from *all* incumbrance whatsoever; and in a prosperous and *rising* condition: Wherefore we humbly conceive that it would be *more seasonable* and expedient to *reduce* this article of the publick charge

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charge, than to *encrease* it: and that nothing can be *more preposterous* in this light, than the *present* proposition; by which this new board of *inferior* commissioners for taking a *very small portion* of the publick accounts will cost the kingdom on the *most moderate* calculation, *above sixteen* times the sum, which was paid in 1757, to the *anient* commissioners, for the *whole* accounts of the nation.

6thly. Because, we conceive that as *any two* of the said *five* commissioners are authoris'd by these letters to exercise all the extensive and singular powers vested thereby in the said commissioners, great inconveniencies and *much confusion* may follow therefrom; and that *contradictory* orders may be issued, *each* signed by *two* of the said commissioners, without *any* apparent *precedence*, or ground of *preference*, in the one order over the other; whereby the persons required to obey the same may be *able to regulate* their conduct, or to *ascertain* which they are to regard.

7thly. Because we conceive if *any* encrease of expence in this department were at all expedient, or *admissible*, that the public interest would require that the same should be incurred, rather by a *moderate addition* of profit to the *anient* commissioners, than by the *creation* of *new* ones; for *many* weighty reasons; and *especially* for that by *multiplying unnecessary* officers, the *undue influence* of the Crown must be *extended*—for which purpose
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alone, this appointment, seems to us, indeed, to have been calculated; whether we consider that *single mismanagement* and *Mal-administration*, which have rendered the arts of *intrigue* and *corruption*, more than usually requisite, to counteract the force of *just* and *national indignation*: or whether we consider the *persons* appointed to these offices, who *instead* of being selected from amongst those who have had publick opportunities of testifying their *peculiar fitness* for, and *experience* in the department of *national accounts*, have been *all* taken, *without a single exception*, from amongst the *representatives of the people*.

8thly. Because we wish the *validity* of the letters patent in question to be brought to *trial*, inasmuch as we apprehend that the same are *illegal*, for that the court of *Exchequer* is a court of an *antient jurisdiction* for the purpose of hearing and determining all matters of *account and revenue*, with *sufficient officers and powers* for adjusting and determining the same, and for *recovering* all such *balance* as may appear to be due thereon; in which court all questions of *legal doubt* must be decided by the *Barons*, who know the law, and all questions of *fact* by the constitutional tryal by *jury*—and we conceive that the *executive* power cannot at this day consistently with the laws of the land, *appoint any new judicature* nor any person or persons whatsoever, save only the antient judges and officers of the said court, to hear and determine
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any matter or matters incident to the jurisdiction thereof, or to exercise *any* powers which may *interfere* with the said jurisdiction---But the *five new* commissioners of accounts appointed by his Majesty's letter patent, bearing date the 31st of October 1771, or any *two* or more of them are authorised by said letters---“ To call before them once in every year the master of the ordnance, the clerks and receivers of fines and casualties, the treasurer of the barrack-board or board of works, and every accountant or accountants, whose accounts by virtue of any former commission the said commissioners or others exercising or occupying their places were required and authorised to examine, except the accounts of the vice treasurers and receiver, or receivers general, and the treasurer at war or paymaster general---To call before them all such persons, who *shall* or may from time to time receive any sum or sums of money by way of imprest; either by warrant or order of government for his majesty's service, to exhibit to the said commissioners all such accounts, books, certificates, warrants, bills, and muniments whatsoever, as shall touch or concern the charge or *discharge* of the said accounts remaining in their hands or custody, or remaining in the hands, custody or possession of any of his Majesty's officers or ministers within this kingdom, and them and every of them by all ways and means, they possibly can, to peruse, cast up, try and examine, and upon tryal, examination and perusal thereof, to make full, perfect, and just accounts.

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counts, or declarations of accounts, containing briefly the sum and substance thereof in charge and discharge, as hath been heretofore used, the said several accounts to be fairly engrossed in two parts, and by the said commissioners or any two or more of them signed and vouched; the one part to remain of record in the court of Exchequer there, and the other part to be delivered to the parties accountable, and to be to them, and every of them, their heirs, executors, and administrators, against the King, his heirs and successors, a *sufficient warrant and discharge*: and the said commissioners and every of them, are required to have special regard that all such petitions and demands, as shall be by them allowed, have good and *probable* reasons to maintain and prove the same; provided always that the said parts of the said accounts so as aforesaid to be delivered by the said commissioners, or any two, or more of them, so signed and delivered, shall not exonerate or discharge the said accountants, or any of them, their heirs, executors, or administrators, of any such debts, as shall be, by the said commissioners, or any two or more of them, found due, and by the said accountants owing, upon their said accounts; until such time as the said accountants and every of them shall first take order with the King for payment thereof, either by *installments* or otherwise, as to the said commissioners or any two or more of them shall be thought meet and convenient." Which said powers of *allowing petitions and demands,*

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mands, and granting *discharges* to accountants, we conceive will amount to a determination of matters incident to the jurisdiction of the said court of Exchequer, and will also essentially interfere with the said jurisdiction, inasmuch as accountants, having obtained such discharges, will not, *according* to the *tenour* of the said *patents*, be obliged to render any account to the said court of Exchequer ; but may, *if the provision of the said patent be considered as valid*, plead such discharges, in bar of any account demanded of them before the said court.---We further apprehend that the said new commissioners, constituted with the aforesaid powers, are a *new* judicature ; notwithstanding any patents that have heretofore been granted to commissioners of accounts in this kingdom : inasmuch, as all such former patents must, *if legal*, have been founded either in the *statute* of the tenth of Henry the 7th. chap. i. or in the *common law*, which is *common usage*. Now so far as the said antient patents may have been founded on the said statute, they can be no authority or example for the present patents, which do in no sort pursue that statute ; and if in any part they were founded in common usage, the usage must be taken entire ; now it has been at all times a part of that usage by such patents to grant the commission for taking the accounts to the Barons of the Exchequer and certain great officers of the law, for the time being, and that *without any tenure*, but as *incident* to their respective *offices*. Whereas the new commissioners
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are granted for a *tenure* during the *king's pleasure* to persons unskilled in the law, altogether independent of and unconnected with the said court of Exchequer, contrary to every appearance of old usage, as well as to the spirit of that excellent statute of the 5th of Richard the II. which enacts, that no baron of the Exchequer, clerk of the pipe, apposer, clerk of the foreign summonses, *auditors*, or other chief officers of the Exchequer, should be made *unless* he be well learned in the law, or otherwise very skilful in the courses and usage of the Exchequer. We therefore apprehend that the said former patents, if founded in the said statute of Henry VII. can be no example of these new patents, which are not founded therein; nor can the same if founded in usage, be any precedent of patents which essentially differ from the usage observed therein. Neither do we conceive that there is a power in the Crown of destroying, dividing, or altering, the antient offices established by law.

9thly. Because there are in the said court of Exchequer, certain clerks or officers called *auditors of imprest*, whose duty is to take all *foreign* and *imprest* accounts, and to perfect the same; and we conceive that all such matters, touching the said accounts, as are *ministerial*, may be well and effectually transacted by the said officers, and do of right belong to their office---so that the institution of new commissioners of accounts, so far as they are
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ministerial, is at least *superfluous*; and so far, as they are *judicial*, is, as we conceive, *manifestly illegal*.

10thly. Because the said new commissioners, or any two of them are empowered by the said letter-patent to give and allow at discretion to any person or persons employed in or about the said accounts, or in any thing concerning the same, such *sum* or *sums* of money, or *other* recompence, as to the said commissioners shall *seem meet* and convenient; and we apprehend that to *delegate* such a *discretionary* power over the revenue to any person whatsoever, is repugnant to the first principles of law, and of most dangerous example.

11thly. Because we conceive that whatever new institution tends to the “disquietness, mischief, and delay of the subject, and is no advantage to the king, is therefore against law.”---But this new institution appears to us manifestly to tend to the disquietness, mischief, and delay of the subject, inasmuch as it requires persons to account before commissioners who are *not bound* by any *oath* to administer *justice* impartially, or according to law---neither have they any *certain rules* of law or *approved usage* by which to govern their proceedings; neither is their court to be *open* at *all times* for receiving accounts and regularly dispatching the same, they being only authorised to take accounts once in every year---and the said instituti-

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on appears to us on the other hand to contribute in no sort to the advantage of the king; but on the contrary, to the manifest *injury* of his *revenue*, inasmuch as no power is given to the said commissioners to examine any accountant upon *oath*; neither, as we conceive, is there, or could there be any power granted to them by the said patent to *enforce the appearance* of any accountants, or others, nor to examine any person *not parties* to the said accounts, nor to *punish* for any *forged* receipts, or other *frauds*, nor in any wise to *compel payment* of any balance that may appear to be due; and also, inasmuch as the said commissioners are authorised at their pleasure to permit accountants to *discharge their balances* by *installments*, whereas by the court of *Exchequer* according to the oaths of the barons and the *old law* of the land, "None of the King's debts were to be put in respite, or *payment* thereof allowed to be *postponed*, where the same might be goodly levied."---From all which we draw this general conclusion: "That "this novel course, tendeth to the disquietness, mischief, and delay of the subject; is no advantage to the king, and therefore is against law and ought not to be allowed."

12thly. Because the appointment of the said commissioners doth under the general words of the receivers of the King's fines and casualties, seem to draw all sheriffs from the said court of *Exchequer*, to account before the said commissioners: whereas

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the said sheriffs are bound by their *oath*, their office, and the law of the land, to account in the Exchequer; and the subjecting them to any other jurisdiction would be a manifest grievance to them and the publick.

13thly. Because, we conceive it of the most dangerous tendency to Great-Britain as well as to this kingdom, that the system of jurisprudence and the rights and powers of the great courts of justice, which are the same in both countries, should be violated in either---For that in the preservation thereof alone our liberties can be secure; as by every encroachment thereon, in former times, the publick freedom hath been brought to the brink of ruin, and the pillars of the constitution shaken to their foundation.

LEINTER,
WESTMEATH,
SHANNON,
LANESBOROUGH,
LOWTH,
MOIRA,
MOUNTCASHELL,
CHARLEMONT,
LISLE,
BALTINGLASS.

SYDNEY,
LONGFORD,
KNAPTON,
POWERSCOURT,
BELLAMONT,
MORNINGTON,
WANDERSFORD,
MOUNTMORRES,
MOLESWORTH,

NUM-

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N U M B E R V.

Monday, Nov, 23, 1772.

At a Post-Hall of the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Sheermen and Dyers, pursuant to public notice, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, that the spurious Address, or Petition, advertised in Hoey's Dublin Mercury of Saturday last, and said to be presented to George Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, by the journeymen weavers of the worsted and woollen branches, was entirely unknown to, and is highly disapproved of by, this corporation.

Resolved, that the two hundred pounds given by his Excellency, to be distributed among the poor manufacturers, was intended as a *bribe* to obtain addresses of approbation from the two corporations, of Weavers, and Sheermen and Dyers, for his Excellency's past conduct as Chief Governor of Ireland.

Resolved, that it appears to this corporation that the two hundred pounds so given was at the

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request, and by the influence of, some person or persons, who are not well-wishers of, or attached to, the Protestant interest of Ireland.

Resolved, that it is the request and desire of this corporation, that the master of the weavers do immediately return to his Excellency the said two hundred pounds; and, at the same time, do let his Excellency know, that if he really wishes that sum to be distributed, he will please to put it for that purpose into the hands of some of the people (*if any there be*) who have approved of his Excellency's conduct as Chief Governor of Ireland.

Resolved, that these resolutions be printed in the publick News papers of this city.

JAMES YEATES, Master.

HAMILTON WEST, }
ROBERT BEASLY. } Wardens.

Monday the 23d of November, 1772.

BY the Master and Wardens of the corporation of Weavers, at their Hall assembled, pursuant to public notice.

The Master of the corporation laid before the body, a letter in the words and figures following:

S. I. K.,

A P P E N D I X.

SIR,

His Excellency my Lord Lieutenant desires the favour of seeing you with your Wardens, Numbers, and Clerk, at the Castle, to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock.

I am, Sir, your most obedient,
humble servant,

Thursday, Nov. 19, 1772. THOS. WAITE.

Mr. John Wiseheart, Master of the Corporation of Weavers, Corn-market.

And also, a bank note of 200l. given to him by the Lord Lieutenant.

Resolved unanimously, that it is the opinion of this corporation, that from the past conduct of his Excellency George Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant, General and General Governor of Ireland, in repeatedly refusing admission to deputations from this body, particularly when applied to for his assistance to relieve the poor in a time of real distress and public calamity; and also, from the manner in which the present donation of two hundred pounds appears to have been procured; that this corporation cannot receive or assist in the distribution thereof, although it would at all times give this corporation the greatest pleasure, on every proper occasion, to be instrumental in relieving the

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the necessities of the poor; and, they do hereby direct the said sum to be *returned* to his Excellency.

Resolved, that the above be published in the public papers.

Signed by Order,
JOHN GELLING, Clerk, Guild.

In consequence of the above resolutions of both corporations, deputations from them went immediately from the Weaver's Hall to the Castle, and returned the bank note of 200l. to Mr. Waite, with a copy of their resolutions, which they requested might be given to the Lord Lieutenant.

N U M B E R VI.

Key to the Letters from Philadelphus.

SANCHO
Caledon
Col. Promise
Rufinus
Pedro Pezzio

Lord T——d.
Lord F——k C——l.
Right Hon. J——n P——y.
Rt. Hon. J——n H——y H——.
Dr. L——s.

Key

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Key to the History of Barataria.

S ANCHO	Lord T——d.
Goreannelli	Lord A——y.
Don Francisco Andrea del Bumperofo	} Right Hon. F—s A——s.
Don Georgio Buticartny	
Don Antonio	Sir G——e M——y.
Don John Alnagero	Right Hon. A—y M——e.
Don Philip	Rt. H. J—n H—y H—n.
Count Loftonso	Rt. H. P—p T——l.
Don John	L. L—s, now E. of E—y.
Don Helena	Rt. Hon. J—n P——y.
Donna Dorothea del Monrofo	R—t H——n, Esq.
Don Godfredo Lilly	} Miss M——o.
The Duke Fitzroyola	
Cardinal Lapidaro	G—y L——ll, Esq.
The Bishop of Toledo	Duke of G——n.
Don Edwardo Swanzero	The late Primate S——e.
Don Alexandro Cunin- gambo del Tweedallero	{ Dr. J——t B——e late Bishop of C—k.
Donna Lavinia	
Don Ricardo	E——d S——n, Esq.
	Surgeon C——m.
	Lady St. L——r.
	R——d P——r, Esq.

*Elly
proffers*

*None
Brown*

E R R A T A.

Page.	Line.
7	9 Autochton, <i>read</i> Autochthon.
26	21 hear, <i>read</i> heard.
50	last. dare exercise, <i>read</i> dare to exercise.
55	12. <i>after</i> of put a colon, and for The <i>read</i> the.
59	3 arimetician, <i>read</i> arithmetician.
ib.	6 <i>from</i> the bottom, <i>after</i> situations put a colon and for You <i>read</i> you.
66	20 <i>dele</i> the comma <i>after</i> kingdom, and put a comma <i>after</i> more.
80	6 place the semicolon <i>after</i> of.
124	25 <i>after</i> deserted, put a full stop.
130	13 <i>after</i> too, put a full stop.
166	12 Ponlonby, <i>read</i> Pery.
199	last. of-first, <i>read</i> of the first.
237	11 in exultation, <i>read</i> in the exultation.
252	17 unaler <i>read</i> unalter.
264	1 IV. <i>read</i> V. and number the Subsequent Stanzas <i>accordingly</i> .
267	2 of Note 14, this, <i>read</i> his.
271	10 of Note 16, <i>after</i> government put a comma.
281	17 proves that it is not necessarily, <i>read</i> proves not, that it is necessarily.
ib.	21 egregiously, <i>read</i> egregiously.
334	5 of Note 14, Ostentations. <i>read</i> ostentation and <i>dele</i> the comma <i>after</i> kind.